THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST
VOLUME III - PART 2

RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

H. S. VERSNEL
R. VAN DEN BROEK

VOLUME 146

THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST

Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire

Volume III: Provincial Cult

Part 2: The Provincial Priesthood

BY

DUNCAN FISHWICK

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2002

This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Fishwick, Duncan:
The imperial cult in the Latin West : studies in the ruler cult of the western provinces of the Roman Empire / Duncan Fishwick. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, Vol. 3.2. (2002)
(Religions in the Graeco-Roman world ; Vol. 146)
ISBN 90–04–12539–6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Library of Congress Cataloging-in Publication Data is also available

ISSN 0927-7633
ISBN 90 04 12539 6

© Copyright 2002 by Koninklijke Brill NV, *Leiden, The Netherlands*

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

Abbreviations ix
Plates xiii

The Provincial Priesthood 1

1. Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis 3

2. Tres Galliae 17
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 17
ii. *Honorific Statues* 19
iii. *The Priestly Title* 25
a. *sacerdotes incerti* 27
b. Gallic features 36
iv. *Qualifications, Origin, Social Background* 37
v. *Career* 41
vi. *The Priestly Office* 43
vii. *Federal Officials* 46
viii. *Membership at the Confluence* 55
ix. *Chronology of the Federal Priesthood* 59
x. *Priests of Tres Galliae* 60

3. Hispania citerior 73
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 73
ii. *Honorific Statues* 74
iii. *Provincial statues: Epigraphic Practice* 82
iv. *The Priestly Title* 85
v. *Origin and Social Background* 87
vi. *Career* 89
vii. *The Priestly Office* 95
viii. *The Provincial Priestess* 96
ix. *Provincial Officials* 98
x. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 101

xi. *Priests of Hispania Citerior* 104
xii. *Priestesses of Hispania citerior* 123

4. Lusitania 139
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 139
ii. *The Priestly Title* 141
iii. *Origin and Social Background* 142
iv. *Career* 144
v. *The Provincial Priestess* 147
vi. *Provincial Officials* 150
vii. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 150
viii. *Priests of Lusitania* 151
ix. *Priestesses of Lusitania* 153

5. Gallia Narbonensis 155
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 155
ii. *A* curator templi *at Cuers* 163
iii. *The Priestly Title* 172
iv. *Origin and Social Background* 173
v. *Career* 174
a. Prior offices 174
b. Later Offices 178
vi. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 182
vii. *Priests of Gallia Narbonensis* 183
viii. *Priestesses of Gallia Narbonensis* 185

6. Africa Proconsularis 187
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 187
ii. *The Priestly Title* 188
iii. *Origin and Social Background* 189
iv. *Career* 191
a. Prior Offices 191
b. Later Offices 197
v. *The Priestly Office* 198
vi. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 200
vii. *Priests of Proconsularis* 200

7. Mauretania Caesariensis 205
i. *Priests of Mauretania Caesariensis* 206
ii. *Priestesses of Mauretania Caesariensis* 206

8. Mauretania Tingitana 207
i. *Priestesses of Mauretania Tingitana* 209

9. Sardinia 211
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 211
ii. *Origin, Social Background, Career* 211
iii. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 213
iv. *Priests of Sardinia* 213

10. Baetica 215
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 215
ii. *Provincial Inscriptions* 219
iii. *The Priestly Title* 223
iv. *The Priestly Year* 226
v. *Origin and Social Background* 231
vi. *Career* 237
vii. *The Priestly Office* 239
viii. *Provincial Officials* 241
ix. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 241
x. *Priests of Baetica* 242
xi. *Priestesses of Baetica* 247

11. Alpes Cottiae 249
i. *Priests of Alpes Cottiae* 249

12. Alpes Maritimae 251
i. *Epigraphic Record* 251
ii. *Career and Title* 251
iii. *Priests of Alpes Maritimae* 252

13. Dacia 255
i. *The Epigraphic Record* 255
ii. *The Priestly Title* 257
iii. *Origin and Social Background* 260
iv. *Career* 261
v. *Chronology of the Priesthood of Dacia* 262
vi. *Priests of Dacia* 263

14. Pannonia superior 267
i. *The Epigraphic Evidence* 267
ii. *The Priestly Title* 268
iii. *Origin and Career* 271
iv. *Administrative Officers* 272
v. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 273
vi. *Priests of Pannonia Superior* 273

15. Pannonia inferior 275
i. *The Epigraphic Evidence* 275
ii. *Origin and Career* 276
iii. *The Priestly Title* 281
iv. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood* 282
v. *Priests of Pannonia Inferior* 282

16. Moesia inferior 285
i. *Priests of Moesia Inferior* 288

17. Dalmatia 289
i. *Priests of Dalmatia* 289

18. The Provincial Priesthood 291
i. *Sources* 291
ii. *Provincial Statues* 292
iii. *Priestly Title* 294
iv. *Qualifications* 295
v. *Origin and Social Background* 297
vi. *Prior Career* 299
vii. *Office and Duties* 301
viii. *Later Career* 303
ix. *The Provincial Priestess* 306
x. *Administrative Officials* 307

References 311

For Bibliography and Indices see Vol. III, 4.

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed below, earlier or subsequent volumes in the present work are cited as Vol. I, 1; Vol. I, 2; Vol. II, 1; Vol. III, 1; Vol III, 3.

AE	*L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris, 1888–.
AIJ	Hoffiller V. and Saria B. (eds.), *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, Amsterdam, 1970.
CIL	Mommsen T. *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae*, Berlin, 1863 – .
CIL $2^2/7$	Stylow A. U. *et al.* (eds.), *Conventus Cordubensis*, Berlin, 1995.
CILA	González J. (ed.), *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, Seville, 1989–91, 1–3.
DE	De Ruggiero E. *et al.* (eds.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, Rome, 1895 [1961] – .
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita iussu Instituti Archaeologici Romani*, Berlin, 1, 1872–79, 1903–13.
ERAE	García Iglesias L. (ed.), *Epgrafía romana de Augusta Emerita* (Diss. Madrid, Univ. Complutense), Madrid, 1972/73.
ERBC	Canto, A. M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de la Beturia Céltica*, Madrid, 1997.
ERI	Canto, A. M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de Italica*, Madrid, 1985.
FIRA	Bruns C., Mommsen T., Gradenwitz O., *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*^{7}, Tübingen, 1909.
HAE	*Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1950–.
HEp	Mangas J., Velázquez I. (eds.), *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1989–96, 1–6.

IAM	Euzennat M., Marion J., Gascou J. (eds.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Paris, 1966–82, 2.
IDR	Russu I. I. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucharest, 1980, 3, 2.
IEphesus	Wankel H. (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Teil Ia, Bonn, 1979.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903–.
ILA	Maurin L., Thauré M., Tassaux F. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.)*, Bordeaux, 1994.
ILAfr	Cagnat R., Merlin A., Chatelain L. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)*, Paris, 1923.
ILAlg	Gsell S. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1922, 1; Pflaum H.-G. *et al.* (eds.) , *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1957, 2.
ILER	Vives J. (ed.), *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, Barcelona, 1971–2, 1–2.
ILGN	Espérandieu É. (ed.)., *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris 1929, 2.
ILIug	Sasel A. and J. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963.
ILM	Chatelaine L. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines de Maroc I*, Paris, 1942.
ILPGr	Pastor M., Mendoza A. (eds.), *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, Granada, 1987.
ILS	Dessau H. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892–1916.
ILTG	Wuilleumier P. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules* (Gallia suppl. 14), Paris, 1963.
ILTun	Merlin A. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1944.
ILuxembourg	Ternes Ch.-M. (ed.), "Les inscriptions antiques du Luxembourg" in *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte: Revue d'Histoire du Luxembourg* 17 (1965) 267–478.
INice-Cimiez	Laguerre G. (ed.), *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez (Cemenelum, Ager Cemenelensis). Fouilles de Cemenelum* 2, Paris, 1975.
IRCP	D'Encarnação J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra, 1984.
IRScallabis	Custódio J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas de "Scallabis"* (forthcoming).

IRT	Reynolds J. M., Ward Perkins J. B. (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome, 1952.
IScM	Pippidi D. M. *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Bucharest, 1980–, 2: 1, 2, 3, 5.
KP	Ziegler K. and Sontheimer W. (eds.), *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, Munich, 1979, 1–5.
OLD	Glare P. G. W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968–82.
PIR²	Groag E., Stein A., Petersen L., Wachtel K. *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin, 1933–.
RE	Wissowa G., Kroll E. *et al.* (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1893–.
RIB	Collingwood R. G., Wright R. P. (eds.), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Oxford, 1965.
RIT	Alföldy G. (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975.
RIU	Barkóczi L., Mócsy A. *et al.* (eds.), *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972–91.
RSS	Balla L., Buocz T. P., Kádár Z., Mócsy A., Szentléleky T. (eds.), *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Amsterdam-Budapest, 1971.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900–.

PLATES

21 *AE* (1992) 1240 (Confluence). Photographs by courtesy of Prof. F. Richard, Faculté des Lettres-Sciences Humaines, Université de Nancy.

22. *CIL* 13, 2940 (Sens). Photograph by courtesy of Musées de Sens. Cliché J. P. Elie.

23. *CIL* 13, 1686 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

24. *CIL* 13, 1688 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

25. *CIL* 13, 1690 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

26. *CIL* 13, 1697 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

27. *CIL* 13, 1704 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

28. *CIL* 13, 11042 (Périgueux). Photograph by courtesy of Musée du Périgord. Cliché B. Dupuy.

29. *ILTG* 223 (Confluence). Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Cliché Ch. Thioc.

30. *RIT* 349 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. 12–69–14.

31. *RIT* 284 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 106–69–1.

32. *RIT* 295 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 151–70–8.

33. *RIT* 312 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 164–70–1.

34. *RIT* 279 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. 11–69–32.

35. *RIT* 323 (Tarraco). MNAT 688. Photograph by courtesy of Museu Nacional Arquelògic de Tarracona. Neg. 1389–9. Photo R. Cornadó.

36. *RIT* 335 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. 11–69–6.

37. *RIT* 146 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 164–70–7.

38. *RIT* 252 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 142–70–2.

39. *RIT* 262 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 164–70–2.

40. *RIT* 259 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 174–70–2.

41. *RIT* 274 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 174–70–3.

42. *RIT* 296 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 145–69–7.

43. *RIT* 303 (Tarraco). MNAT 45105. Photograph by courtesy of Museu Nacional Arquelògic de Tarracona. Neg. 1230–8. Photo R. Cornadó.

44. *RIT* 254 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 173–70–4.

45. *RIT* 309 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 145–70–1.

46. *RIT* 328 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 161–69–6.

47. *RIT* 321 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 119–69–3.

48. *RIT* 322 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. R 153–70–7.

49. *RIT* 324 (Tarraco). Photograph by courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid. Neg. 8–69–29.

50. *IRCP* 7 (Ossonoba). Photograph by courtesy of Prof. J. Edmondson, Dept. of Histry, York University, Toronto.

51. *ERAE* 108 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Conservador of Museo Nacional de Arte Romana, Mérida. Photograph Servicio Fotográfico del Museo de Mérida. Neg. R 627–24.

52. *ERAE* 112 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Conservador of Museo Nacional de Arte Romana, Mérida. Photograph Servicio Fotográfico del Museo de Mérida. Neg. R 627–26.

53. *AE* (1987) 396 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Conservador of Museo Nacional de Arte Romana, Mérida.

54. *CIL* 12, 3274 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

55. *CIL* 12, 3275 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

56. *CIL* 12, 3212 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

57. *CIL* 12, 3213 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

58. *CIL* 12, 3184 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

59. *CIL* 12, 3183 (Nemausus). Photograph by courtesy of Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

60. *CIL* 8, 11546 (Ammaedara). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hedi Slim, Directeur de la Division de l'Inventaire Général et des Recherches, Tunis.

61. *ILPGr* 8 (Almuñécar). Reproduced from *ILPGr.*, lám. 7, no. 2.

62. *CIL* 2^2/7, 133 (Obulco). Reproduced from *CIL* 2^2/7, Tab. 4, Figs. 4, 5.

63. *CIL* 2^2/7, 255 (Corduba). Reproduced from *CIL* 2^2/7, Tab. 9, Fig. 8.

64. *CIL* 2^2/7, 259 (Corduba). Reproduced from *CIL* 2^2/7, Tab. 9, Fig. 7.

65. *CIL* 2^2/7, 297 (Corduba). Reproduced from *CIL* 2^2/7, Tab. 12, Fig. 3.

66. *CIL* 2^2/7, 221 (Corduba). Reproduced from *CIL* 2^2/7, Tab. 7, Fig. 4.

67. *CIL* 2^2/7, 292 (Corduba). Reproduced from Stylow (1990) 275, Abb. 76.

68. *CILA* 2/2, 343 (Italica). Reproduced from *CILA* 2/2, fig. 180.

69. *AE* (1968) 422a-b (Carnuntum). Photograph by courtesy of Prof. Dr. W. Jobst, Museum Carnuntinum, Archäologischer Park Carnuntum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg.

70. *AIJ* 449 (below Poetovio). Reproduced from *AIJ*, p. 200.

71. *ISᴄM* 5, 151 (Troesmis). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hélène Chew, Conservateur en chef, Musée des Antiquités Nationales. Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Inv. 61005.

THE PROVINCIAL PRIESTHOOD

The central document of the provincial priesthood in the Latin west is the so-called charter of Gallia Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964; Vol. I , 2, Pl. XLIII)[1]. Found on the premises of the provincial centre of Narbonese Gaul, the Lex Narbonensis originates to all appearances from the authorities in Rome[2], and regulates in surprising detail the rights and duties of the provincial *flamen*. Despite the loss of several clauses, there can be no question that this is the foundation charter of the provincial cult. What has become increasing clear in recent years, however, is that the law must be just one surviving example of similar provisions that were sent out to a vast array of Western provinces[3]. While no analogous enactment of corresponding scope has so far come to light, echoes or reflections of regulations similar, if not identical, to those of the Narbonese law are recognizable both in provinces where a provincial cult was already in existence (Tres Galliae, Hither Spain, Lusitania) and in those where the cult seems to have originated with the introduction of parallel regulations (Proconsularis, Sardinia, Baetica). In light of this new dimension to our understanding, therefore, it seems methodologically appropriate to begin discussion with the Lex Narbonensis despite the fact that this key document is plainly of early Flavian date.

---

[1] For recent discussion of the content of the law see Deininger (1965) 108–9; Gayraud (1981) 384–96; Williamson (1987) 181ff. with full review of previous editions, analysis of the physical characteristics of the tablet, and translation of the text, 173–81; Rives (1995) 87–9.

[2] Gayraud (1981) 385, n. 63, observing that the formula *siremps lex* (line 21) occurs in various laws of the Republican period. See further Rives (1995) 86–7, noting that, whether in origin an edict of the emperor or a decree of the Senate, the law was issued by the central authority.

[3] Cf. Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 49–50. The obvious comparison is with the Flavian *lex municipalis*. See Vol. III, 1, 97 with n. 10.

CHAPTER ONE

LEX DE FLAMONIO PROVINCIAE NARBONENSIS

Our copy of this celebrated statute is inscribed on a bronze plaque discovered in 1888 at the bottom of a swimming pool situated within a wide enclosure that can only be the provincial sanctuary[1]. Some thirty lines in all have survived from a long inscription, the top, bottom and right-hand sections of which are now missing. Of the five clauses that are preserved, three concern the office of *flamen*, one the provincial *concilium*, and one financial matters, but three paragraphs at the head of the text may well have governed the election of the *flamen*, the rites he had to perform, and the privileges and exemptions he enjoyed; though these are lost, much of their content can be inferred from later paragraphs. As all commentators have observed, the office of provincial priest and the position of his wife are patently modelled on that of the *flamen Dialis* and the *flaminica Dialis* at Rome[2], a feature that speaks overwhelmingly for the the view that the law was issued by the central imperial administration. The plaque itself is now in the Louvre with a moulded copy at Narbonne. In light of the key information it preserves and its central place in the present discussion the text deserves to be cited in full with approximate estimates of the number of letters per line to indicate the length of *lacunae*. The reading given here is a modified version of the conservative edition of C. H. Williamson and M. Crawford, which restricts restorations to the minimum that can be safely supplied from later passages of the same document:

[*De honoribus eius qui flamen erit*]

1. [.42. *Na*]*rboni* […52…]
2. [.42.]*iique lictores q*[*ui … apparent … ei apparento*]
3. [.37.]*u̯m iusque eius provinciae* […42…]
4. [.35.]*ui in decurionibus senatuve* [*sententiae dicendae signandique* …12…]

[1] Vol. I, 2, 254–5; cf. Williamson's summary, *o.c.* 175–6. For the sanctuary see Vol. III, 3, 130–3.

[2] Fishwick (1978) 1207; Williamson, *o.c.* 181–2 with refs.; Gayraud, *o.c.* 396.

5. [.15. *inter decuriones s*]*ẹṇatoresve subsellio primo spectan*[*di ius esto* …30…]
6. [.23. *uxor fla*]*minis veste alba aut purpurea vestita f*[*estis diebus* …27…]
7. [.28.] *nẹve invita iurato neve corpus hominis mor*[*tui* …6… *attingito neve locum ingreditor*]
8. [*in quo bustum crem*]*aṭi hominis erit; eique spectaculis publicis eius* [… *interesse liceto* vacat]
9. *De honoribus eius qui flamen f*[*uerit*]
10. [*Si is qui flamen fue*]*rit adversus hanc legem nihil fecerit, tum is qui flamen erit c*[*urato ut* …27…]
11. [.3. *per tabell*]*ạs iurati decernant placeatne ei qui flamonio abierit permitti sṭa*[*uam intra fines templi … ponere. Si placu-*]
12. [*erit ius sta*]*tuae ponendae nomenque suum patrisque et unde sit et quo anno fla*[*men fuerit inscribendi permitti, ei*]
13. [*Narbo*]*ni intra fines eius templi statuae ponendae ius esto, nisi cui imperator* [*Caesar* …24… *Eidem*]
14. [*i*]*n curia sua et concilio provinciae Narbonensis inter sui ordinis secundum lẹ*[…35…]
15. *sententiae dicendae signandique ius esto; item spectaculo publico in provinciạ* […22… *interesse liceto prae-*]
16. *textato eisque diebus, quibus cum flamen esset sacrificium fecerit, ea veste pẹ*[…42… vacat]
17. *Si flamen in civitate esse des*[*ierit*]
18. *Si flamen in civitate esse desierit neque ei subrogatus erit, tum uti quiṣ* [*flamen proxime fuerit* …19… *is*]
19. *in triduo quo certior factus erit et poterit Narboni sacra facito* […35… *per reliquam*]
20. *partem eius anni eo ordine hab(e)to quo annuorum flamin*[*um habentur* …16… *Eique, si habuerit per dies non minus*]
21. *XXX, siremps lex ius causaque esto quae flamini Augus*[… *ex hac lege erit* vacat]
22. *Quo loco concili*[*um* …15…]
23. *Qui in concilium provinciae convenerint Narbo*[*nem* …*(?ni)si quid* … *Narbone-*]
24. *sium concilio habito actum erit, id ius ratum*[*que (?ne) esto* vacat]
25. *De pecu*[*nia* …22…]
26. *Qui flamonio abierit is ex ea pecunia* […65… *statu*]
27. *as imaginesve imperatoris Caeṣ*[*aris* …45… *arbitratu*(?) *eius qui eo anno pro-*]
28. *vinciae praeerit intra idem ṭ*[*empus* …41… *seque omnia ut hac lege cautum est de*]

29. *ẹa re fecisse apud eum qui ra*[*tiones putabit probato* …58…]
30. [.8. *e*]*ọ templo ịtạ* […83…]

A preliminary question concerns the nature and date of the Narbonese law. Clearly this cannot be a municipal regulation of the colony of Narbo Martius, where the local *curia* could hardly have legislated the duties and privileges of the provincial *flamen*. Nor can the provincial council, even supposing it existed at the time, have given the current *flamen* local privileges at Narbo or the retiring *flamen* similar rights in his *patria*. The law must rather derive from some superior authority, in all likelihood the emperor, whose intervention is specifically mentioned in line 13. If so, the enactment will be a *lex data*, technically a *constitutio*,[3] issued with the purpose of creating and organizing the imperial cult of Narbonensis; we have noted that parallel regulations seem to have been introduced into a wide range of other provinces in the Latin west. Continued imperial control is also apparent from the fact that at end of his term the *flamen* is empowered to use surplus funds to set up statues of the emperor at the discretion(?) of the provincial governor (lines 27–8). These features of the law bear plainly on the pertinent question of whether the provincial cult was instituted from above or below. As for the time of foundation, an approximate date is set by the fact that Q. Trebellius Rufus, who was archon at Athens under Domitian, served some years earlier as first high priest of the provincial cult of Narbonensis, in all probability under Vespasian.[4]

The first paragraph deals with the current *flamen* and his wife (lines 1–8); the privileges and taboos attached to their positions can be partly reconstructed from the later clause referring to the past *flamen*. The earliest item in the surviving text concerns the provision of lictors for the provincial priest (line 2), a clear correspondence to those of the *flamen Dialis*. M. Gayraud understands a reference to the *lictores v*[*iatores* who served the magistrates of Narbo Martius[5] but on the new reading of Williamson–Crawford the *v* is more probably *q*. The more important regulation is that the *flamen* has the right to sit in the assembly of decurions or the senate, to participate in discussions, and to exercise

[3] Gayraud (1981) 385; Williamson (1987) 175.

[4] For full discussion of the epigraphical evidence see Fishwick (1998) 83–112. See further Vol. III, 1, 100–9; cf. Vol. I, 2, 240–1.

[5] Gayraud (1981) 345, 395.

the *ius signandi* (line 4 restored from lines 14–15). On Gayraud's view this means that the current provincial priest is entitled to sit in the *curia* of his *patria*, just as the past *flamen* has the same privilege [*i*]*n curia sua* (line 14), and can stamp its acts with his seal in order to authenticate them.[6] How such a privilege could be appropriate to a *flamen* who was plainly obliged to reside at Narbo throughout his term (below, pp. 11–13) is difficult to see. The more likely interpretation is surely that the reference is to the local council of Narbo as originally proposed by E. Beurlier,[7] a situation which would then parallel the right of the *flamen Dialis* to attend meetings of the Senate in Rome. In other words the current *flamen* will have been *ex officio* an honorary decurion of Narbo throughout his year.[8] As for *signandi ius*, the sense is obscure as the term does not occur elsewhere in a Roman law, but Mommsen's argument that the custom of voting *per tabellam* was an established municipal practice makes it probable that the phrase refers not to sealing a document but to a written vote.[9] What the provision will have meant in effect, then, is that during his term the provincial *flamen* played a role in the local *ordo* at Narbo, conceivably on a par with the town *duoviri*. In that case the clause is of key significance for the link it reveals between the provincial *concilium* and the local *curia* and goes far to explaining developments at other centres such as Tarraco or Carales in Sardinia where the interaction of both jurisdictions occasionally emerges. Lastly the provincial *flamen* has the right to a front seat at the games (line 5), the privilege of the *proedria*, when he is seated among the decurions or senators wearing the purple-bordered *toga praetexta*;[10] this looks confirmed by lines 15–16 where the past *flamen* enjoys the same privilege. If the *flamen* had the right to participate in meetings of the decurions or the senate of Narbo, he will presumably have been seated among the decurions or local senators of Narbo, who must have had a place of honour at public shows.

As for his wife (lines 6–8), she can appear in white or purple on festival days and is permitted to attend the public games.[11] Which

[6] Deininger (1965) 108; Gayraud, *o.c.* 350–2.
[7] Beurlier (1891) 145.
[8] Williamson, *o.c.* 181–2.
[9] Williamson, *o.c.* 186, cf. 184.
[10] Gayraud, *o.c.* 350–1; Williamson, *o.c.* 182, 186–7; Vol. I, 1, 32; II, 1, 479–80, 579, 617–18; Brent (1999) 202 with n. 96.
[11] Gayraud, *o.c.* 396; Willamson, *o.c.* 182–4 with numerous references; Spickermann (1994) 191–2. At line 6, *uxor fla*]*minis* is partly restored but surely secure.

games precisely is not stated but, as the *flamen* must have attended both provincial and municipal games in his dual role of provincial priest and honorary citizen of Narbo, the meaning will surely be that his wife could attend either category. Like her prerogatives, the taboos appropriate to her position partly copy those that applied to the wife of the *flamen Dialis* or to the Vestal Virgins;[12] in particular she is exempt from compulsory oaths, forbidden to touch a corpse and, in the section now lost, was probably forbidden to contract any other pollution linked with death. No doubt the same restrictions applied to the provincial *flamen* in a clause that has now disappeared: that is, lines 6–8 repeat with reference to the wife the stipulations earlier laid down in regard to the husband. Like the privileges of the *flaminica Dialis*, the prerogatives of the provincial priest's wife depended on and plainly coincided with her husband's priesthood, but whether or to what extent she might have been involved in his ritual duties is unknown. In any event she was not *ex officio* the *flaminica provinciae*, who tended the cult of deified females.[13] In the first place the law knows only the term *uxor flaminis* (line 6, restored but certain).[14] More to the point, while the *flaminica provinciae* was regularly the wife of the *flamen*, there is at least one example where this is patently not the case: Sempronia Placida, who was married to a provincial councillor and given an honorific statue by her husband *consensu concili p. H. C.* (*RIT* 327).[15] Conversely, it may be added, there are instances where the wives of provincial priests are not explicitly recorded as priestesses.[16]

The second section (lines 9–16) deals with honours to the past *flamen*. If he has done nothing in violation of the law, then his successor is to initiate proceedings whereby the council shall decide, evidently

[12] On the Vestals see Beard, Status (1980) 17, observing that the privileges of priestesses of the Divi—notably Livia, who served as *flaminica* of Divus Augustus—appear to be modelled on Vestal privileges.

[13] Vol. I, 1, 166; see below, p. 219 *ad* Quintia Flaccina (*AE*, 1966, 183: Munigua, Baetica). Cf. earlier Lehmann (1944) 100.

[14] *Contra* Bielman–Frei-Stolba (1994) 119.

[15] *Contra* Willamson (1987) 183, taking Sempronia Placida to have been elected by consent of the provincial council. But see Deininger (1965) 126, n. 3; Alföldy (1973) 97, no. 111. The single example of a *flaminica provinciae* in Narbonensis offers no help on the point (*CIL* 12, 2516; below, p. 185). On the provincial *flaminicae* of Hither Spain see Alföldy (1973) 49–53 at 51, 94–7 at 95, no. 104, noting also the case of Fulvia Celera (*AE*, 1928, 197), whose husband may have been elected provincial *flamen* only after her death. For the possibility that the husbands of two priestesses of Mauretania Tingitana had not attained the provincial priesthood see below, pp. 207–8.

[16] Étienne (1958) 170–1.

by written vote, whether the retiring priest shall be allowed to put up a statue to himself within the boundaries of the temple (line 11: restored from line 13), a phrase that points clearly to the legal independence of the Narbonese precinct.[17] Apparently monuments to past priests were erected in a set place, as documented at the provincial centre of Tarraco, though honorific statues stood here on the middle level of the provincial sanctuary—immediately below the *temenos* of the provincial temple (*RIT* 333; below, pp. 81–2). While the precise wording is uncertain, the general sense of the clause seems to be that the priest himself shall support the costs of a statue in honour of his term of office, a point that would be in keeping with the tight-fisted mentality of Vespasian's regime.[18] Williamson–Crawford follow Gayraud in supplying [… *intra fines templi Divi Aug(usti)* …, which would exclude the living ruler and conflict with the inclusive nature of the cult evidently recognized *ad* line 21 (see below, p. 12).[19] To complete *templi Aug(ustorum)* on the model of the formula *templum Romae et Augustorum* attested at Lugdunum would suit the context better;[20] alternatively *templi Div(orum) Aug(ustorum)* may be proposed on the lines of the priestly titles of Hither Spain.[21] On the usual restoration the statue will have commemorated just the *flamen*, though Gayraud would add statues of the emperor as well.[22] In any event if the vote is favourable, the ex-*flamen* shall inscribe his own name, that of his father, his place of origin, and the year of his tenure on a statue to be placed *intra fines eius templi … nisi cui imperator* [*Caesar*—evidently a proviso of some kind involving the emperor, who perhaps could withold permission.[23] If the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis was founded by Vespasian, as strongly suggested by the career of Q. Trebellius Rufus (below, p. 163), the gap

[17] Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 605.

[18] Kornemann (1901) 126.

[19] Wiliamson, *o.c.* 185, cf. 188–9; Gayraud, *o.c* . 387, 409.

[20] Cf. *CIL* 13, 1706: *sacerdos ad templum Romae et Augustorum* and the abbreviated form *sacerdos ad templ. Rom. et Aug.* (*CIL* 13, 1049, 1714). There is no trace of Roma in the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis.

[21] For the point that both *Augustorum* and *Divorum Augustorum* include the living ruler with the deified dead in see Vol. I, 2, 269–77. The terminology *flamen Divorum Augustorum* is not attested in Gallia Narbonensis (below, pp. 183–85) but does occur in Sardinia (*CIL* 10, 7599: Carales), which very possibly had a similar provincial cult regulated by an enactment parallel to the Narbonese law.

[22] *Id.* (1981) 386–8, cf. 350.

[23] Williamson, *o.c.* 185, noting that the exception might equally well concern greater (or additional?) honours to be bestowed on the priest concerned. On any view the provision reflects control from the centre.

should presumably be completed [*Caesar Vespasianus permiserit*? … or some such.

Whereas on the interpretation given above, the incumbent *flamen* could sit and participate on the local *curia* of Narbo, the retired *flamen* clearly has the right to do so *in curia sua*; in other words he can give his opinion and vote in writing in the local senate of his *patria*. But he was also entitled to sit in the provincial assembly whenever it met, which means that, in addition to the delegates sent by various cities (*legati*), past provincial priests must have become a noticeable bloc in the *concilium provinciae*. In his own *curia* at least the ex-priest must already have had the *ius sententiae dicendae signandique* since he will certainly have been a decurion before appointment as *legatus* to the provincial assembly.[24] The emphasis of the clause is therefore upon the fact that in his *patria* the past priest now sits *inter (homines) sui ordinis secundum le*[… (line 14), a formula which seems to indicate that past *flamines*, occasionally recorded elsewhere as *flaminales*,[25] constituted a special group. On Williamson's view, this would be the upper echelon of the local aristocracy, as documented by the fourth-century *album* of Thamugadi, which lists two provincial *sacerdotales* of Numidia in third place after ten *patroni viri clarissimi* and two *patroni viri perfectissimi* but above the *curator reipublicae*, the highest elected official (*CIL* 8, 2403).[26] Whether the same point holds for membership of the provincial assembly is unclear, but analogy suggests that here too the emphasis is upon his right to exercise *inter* (*homines*) *sui ordinis* rights and privileges to which he was automatically entitled.

Lastly, the ex-flamen has the right to be present at public provincial spectacles, when he may wear the *toga praetexta*, and on the days when he performed sacrifice during his term he can wear a special vestment. On the standard reading *ea veste pu*[*blice* … (line 16) this has usually been taken to be the *toga praetexta*, though it was suggested earlier that a reference to the purple woollen *laena* might be intended, as the priest wore this at the moment of sacrifice.[27] Williamson–Crawford read

[24] For the possibility that *ius signandi* means the right to give a written opinion *in absentia* rather than simply to vote in writing see Larsen (1955) 139. Cf. Williamson (1987) 186; Rives (1995) 89.

[25] Deininger (1965) 154, citing *CIL* 2, 983; cf. *RIT* 333 (= *CIL* 2, 4248); Alföldy (1973) 5.

[26] Williamson, *o.c.* 185–6. See Marquardt (1881) 192–3; Liebenam (1900) 231–2; further in general Chastagnol (1978) 26.

[27] Vol. II, 1, 479–80 with n. 25 and corrigenda p. 867.

pę, which would put the discussion on a new basis should a suitable completion be available. None is proposed, however, nor is anything conclusive suggested by perusal of the possible completions that might be supplied here.[28] On the whole, then, the reading *pụ*[, which looks in no way excluded by the state of the lettering, retains its plausibility with the choice it offers between the *toga praetexta* and the *laena*.

The third clause (lines 17–21) appears under the rubric *si flamen in civitate esse des*[*ierit*] and outlines the procedures for replacing the *flamen* and the duties of the substitute. Broadly speaking, the replacement is to perform the same rites and, at the end of thirty days, enjoy the same privileges as the regular *flamen*. A preliminary question arises over the implication of *in civitate esse*. Gayraud proposes that this means absence from Narbo for some reason, including the death or resignation of the *flamen*, who would then no longer be able to celebrate the rites of his office at Narbo. He suggests a parallel with the restriction on the *flamen Dialis*, who under the Republic could not be absent from his house for a single night, under the empire not more than two or three nights except by permission of the *pontifex maximus*, and even then on no more than two occasions a year.[29] Yet the absence of the *flamen Dialis* from his house is hardly parallel to the supposed absence of the provincial *flamen* from Narbo Martius. More fundamentally, it might be doubted whether *in civitate esse* can denote residence at the colony of Narbo Martius, given that the terms *colonia* and *municipium* begin to give way to *civitas* only from the second half of the second century A.D.[30] The far likelier meaning is that *in civitate esse desierit* is the legal reverse of *in civitate esse* and refers to loss of Roman citizenship on the part of the incumbent; both Hirschfeld and Alibrandi established this independently long ago. Gayraud thinks it a strange eventuality that the *flamen* could renounce or lose his citizenship, but Williamson notes that the formula already exists in the *S.C. Ostorianum* (dated before A.D. 47), and seems to have covered death, loss of citizen rights through deportation or capture in battle, and other situations also.[31] If the standard interpre-

[28] Gradenwitz (1904) 183–91. An outside possibility might be *pę*[*renni* …, in which case the reference would presumbly be to the *toga praetexta*. On Williamson's view, *o.c.* 186–7, cf. 181–2, the provincial *flamen* will have worn the purple-bordered toga on all occasions, as did the *flamen Dialis*.

[29] *Id.*, *o.c.* 393–4.

[30] Cf. Kornemann in *RE* Suppl. 1 (1903) 302–3; Burnand (1975) 782.

[31] Williamson, *o.*c. 187, citing among other references Ulpian, *Digest* 38, 4, 1 pr. (= *FIRA* 194–5, no. 51), where the phrase seems to mean "ceases to be in legal condition

tation is correct, as seems most likely, it implies or presupposes that the provincial *flamen* was a Roman citizen, a qualification confirmed by the *tria nomina* of almost all known incumbents throughout the West.[32]

Should the *flamen* cease to be a Roman citizen and no substitute has been appointed—*subrogatus* usually refers to the replacement of a magistrate who ceases to be in function before the end of his legal term, so is appropriate on any interpretation of *in civitate esse*[33]—then within three days of being informed, provided he is able, a replacement (doubtless an ex-*flamen*, conceivably the most recently in office) is to perform sacred rites at Narbo until the end of the year in the order followed by the *annui flamines* (line 20). All commentators, most recently Williamson,[34] following Marquardt, Mommsen and Kornemann, have inferred a distinction here between the provincial *flamen*, who held office for one year, and the *flamines perpetui*, who look to have held the title for life. Yet the latter occur only in municipal cult, so it is difficult to see their relevance to regulations establishing the provincial priesthood of Narbonensis. The contrast is surely between the substitute *flamen* and the *flamen* regularly appointed for an entire year: the replacement is to act in the same way as do annual officials. Whether the plural is simply a generalization or refers to the similar order of rites also followed by the local municipal *flamen* is unclear. Whatever the proper interpretation, the phrase *eo ordine* is critical for its confirmation that a calendar existed prescribing the order of rites to be performed on various days; we have seen that this conforms to the picture in evidence elsewhere in the Roman world.[35] It is worth adding here, however, that the requirement that the substitute *flamen* shall act within three days strongly suggests these rites occurred as frequently as is documented by comparable calendars which have come to light in other provinces. Furthermore, mention of the intervention of the provincial governor in lines 27–8 raises the possibility that the calendar, no doubt patterned largely on the Roman model, was regulated by him.[36] In any event it

---

of citizenship as a consequence of dying". For an inventary of previous discussion see Gayraud, *ibid.*, n. 109: add Larsen (1944) with refs.

[32] Deininger (1965) 151. Citizenship must therefore have been required of the delegates from whom the provincial priest was elected; cf. Larsen (1955) 137–8, noting that members of the assembly will have been of much the same kind as the high priests.

[33] Gayraud, *o.c.* 393 with n. 111 and refs.

[34] *Id.*, *o.c.* 187.

[35] Vol. II, 1, 482–501.

[36] Vol. II, 1, 500, n. 159 with refs. The inference looks likely in light of the data

seems beyond question that the ceremonies at Narbo will have been celebrated in the provincial sanctuary, an inference corroborated by the provision already noted that the former *flamen* might sport his vestment on the festival days when he sacrificed during his year of office. No trace of these rites has survived, though an inscription shows the provincial *flamen* performing a *taurobolium* (a rite outside the ruler cult) in the name of the province on behalf of the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*CIL* 12, 4323). Some idea of the scope and nature of provincial rites can nevertheless be gathered by comparative study of the traditional ritual of Roman cults.[37] The actual procedure for installing a replacement is lost though plainly he is to be chosen from members of the council.

Lastly, if the substitute performs for not less than thirty days, his position is to be exactly that of the regularly elected *flamen Augus*[(line 21). Various completions are possible here. Williamson–Crawford propose *flamen Augus*[*ti*, which would limit the cult to the reigning emperor only. While the priest evidently attended to statues and likenesses of the current emperor (line 27) and the title of C. Batonius Primus, *flamen Augg.* (*CIL* 12, 4323), confirms the presence in the cult of the reigning emperors Septimius Severus and Caralla, it is surely improbable that a Flavian cult would have excluded Divus Augustus. More likely past emperors were incorporated with the present,[38] in which case the completion *Augus*[*talis* or *Augus*[*torum* would cover the inclusion of both living and deified deceased emperors within the cult, exactly as in Hither Spain.[39]

The fourth clause (lines 22–4) deals briefly with the appropriate meeting place of the council. As lines 23–4 make clear, the council convened at Narbo, undoubtedly in the provincial sanctuary. No trace of a meeting hall has come to light but a provincial *curia* looks to have existed at Tarraco, where evidence of inscribed stone seats for delegates has survived, and the existence of a similar building has been inferred at Lugdunum, if on uncertain evidence.[40] Any connection of the city with meetings of the *concilium provinciae* escapes our knowledge, though

---

usefully collected by Eck (1993) 152–6, on the religious and cultic duties of a Roman provincial governor.

[37] Vol. II, 1, 501–28.

[38] So rightly Williamson, *o.c.* 188, yet neither the restored reference to the provincial temple (line 11) nor the restored title of the provincial priest (line 21) is consistent with this judgement.

[39] Vol. I, 2, 269–77.

[40] Vol. III, 3, 34, 125–6.

a *legatus* will undoubtedly have represented the colony and we have seen that conversely the provincial priest must have had a seat on the local town council. That he necessarily resided at Narbo throughout his year is clear from the rites he had to perform and the provisions for his replacement under certain circumstances (above). Hirschfeld restored lines 23–4 to mean that a decision taken by the *concilium* outside Narbo or Narbonese territory would be invalid whereas on Gayraud's completions decisions taken at such a meeting would be legitimate.[41] Either possibility supposes that the *concilium* was empowered to hold meetings outside the provincial sanctuary, a possibility for which there are no known parallels.[42] As nothing can be reasonably supplied from elsewhere in the document, the gaps are best left incomplete.[43] What does seem certain is that the assembly met at Narbo and that whatever it decided on these occasions was to be lawful and valid. The scope of such decisions is known from inscriptions which show that, in addition to electing the provincial *flamen* and deciding on whether an honorific statue to his predecessor was appropriate, the *concilium* could also communicate with bodies further afield such as the two *boulai* of Athens, to which it wrote concerning Q. Trebellius Rufus.[44] In other provinces, notably Tres Galliae, the range of the council's activities is very wide and comprised relations with both the provincial authorities and the central administration in Rome.[45] Nothing specific emerges on the frequency of such meetings but a minimum annual meeting looks implied by the regulation providing for a statue to the retiring *flamen* of the previous year. Only in Lugdunum, where the council of the Three Gauls met about the beginning of August, do we have the approximate date of this annual reunion.[46]

In conclusion, lines 25–30 deal with financial matters and the accountability of the *flamen*. The ceremonies and games associated with the provincial cult will have entailed considerable expenditures.[47] A ref-

[41] *Id.*, *o.c.* 390–2.

[42] For the unfounded hypothesis that provincial councils were itinerant organizations meeting wherever the governor of the province happened to be see Le Roux (1994) 402–4; further below, Vol. III, 3, 191.

[43] The translation of Williamson–Crawford assumes a reference to the council building *(curia)* in the right-hand lacuna at line 23.

[44] Vol. III, 1, 99–104.

[45] Deininger (1965) 161–9.

[46] Deininger, *o.c.* 144–5.

[47] Williamson, *o.c.* 189. For entertainment as an adjunct of the imperial cult see Vol. II, 1, 574ff; Vol. III, 3, 216.

erence in line 26 to *pecunia* appears to attest a provincial fund that supported outlays (for which the council will presumably have voted credits), but there is no trace at Narbo of a provincial chest with a hierarchy of officials comparable to the financial arrangements at Lugdunum, for example (below, pp. 47–55). Nor do we know how such funds were raised, though Tacitus seems to imply that local levies had supported the cost of the temple of Divus Claudius at Camulodunum. Indeed compulsory subventions imposed upon the Britons had been an incitement to rebellion (*Ann.* 14, 31);[48] cf. the *stips annua* at Lugdunum (below, p. 46). It would appear, however, despite the fact that much of the text has to be restored, that the provincial governor has a say in the use of these funds since the retiring *flamen* can use surplus(?) funds for statues and likenesses of the emperor *arbitratu / permissu(?) eius qui eo anno pro*]*vinciae praeerit* … (lines 27–8). This authorization(?) by the proconsul[49] plainly documents continued imperial control (cf. lines 13–14) legislated in a document that originates in Rome, and it is worth recalling that on the traditional view the residence of the provincial governor at Tarraco was actually located within the provincial sanctuary.[50] Quite clearly, the statues and images are of the living emperor, who is referred to as *imperator Caesar*, a point that reinforces the inference that the cult included the reigning emperor. Presumably a reference to Vespasian should again be supplied: *statu*]*as imaginesve imperatoris Caes*[*aris Vespasianus* … . On the usual restoration it has been supposed that these likenesses were to be placed *intra idem t*[*emplum*, a completion supported by the term *imago* in particular, which often refers to busts that were carried in procession and stood in the *pronaos* of a temple when not in use;[51] portable statues might also be kept there unless the reference is to honorific standing statues to be placed about the *temenos*. With so much of the text now missing, these points must remain very uncertain and the alternative conjecture *intra idem t*]*empus* of Williamson–Crawford remains a possibility that is hardly prejudiced by a further reference to *templum* in line 30. Finally, the last line lays down that the departing *flamen* must account for expended public monies to the official who checks the accounts. So while the technical term is not recorded, it

[48] See in detail Vol. III, 1, 77–8.

[49] For parallel involvement on the part of the provincial governor in the Greek East see Price (1984) 69–71; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 343, noting Roman control of civic religious finances at Ephesus.

[50] Vol. III, 3, 34.

[51] Vol. II, 1, 54off.; for processions see 55off.

seems clear that an auditor functioned at Narbo in much the same way as inferentially did the *inquisitor Galliarum* at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum.

The *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* is the only regulatory enactment on the imperial cult to have been preserved in the Latin west, in fact the most comprehensive document of its kind anywhere in the Roman empire. That parallel regulations were in force elsewhere seems nevertheless clear from the reflections of similar provisions which can be identified in other provinces (above, p. 1). The precise details of how these were observed will emerge from analysis of the priesthoods of individual provinces in chronological order of their institution.

CHAPTER TWO

TRES GALLIAE

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

The literary sources preserve no mention of the priesthood of the Three Gauls[1] beyond Livy's report that the Aeduan C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus (no. 1) was appointed *sacerdos* when "the altar of the divine Caesar" was dedicated by the confluence of the Rhone and the Sâone (*Per.* 139).[2] Otherwise evidence is restricted as elsewhere to the testimony of inscriptions, which register over forty priesthoods, a total that outnumbers the epigraphical record of almost any other province in the Latin west.[3] The one exception is Hispania Citerior, where some seventy-six priests are known, the bulk of them recorded at the provincial centre located in the upper city of Tarraco; in this province barely one sixth of provincial *flamonia* are known from local inscriptions whereas in the Three Gauls close to a third of the surviving traces come from outside the provincial sanctuary, as a rule from a priest's *patria* or *civitas*.

A discrepancy with the picture in Hither Spain is likewise observable in the chronological range of the priesthoods of Tres Galliae, a handful of which are known from the earliest years of the federal cult while others belong to the first quarter of the third century. At Tarraco in contrast the overwhelming majority of the relevant texts were recorded in the period from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius with only one example so far after A.D. 170.[4] After Vercondaridubnus, plainly the first to hold office at the Confluence, the earliest priesthood to be epigraphically documented is that of C. Iulius Rufus (no. 2; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XX), who is attested both at the provincial sanctuary and in his *patria* of Mediolanum, where in A.D. 18/19 he set up a well-known

[1] For a list of priests of Tres Galliae see below, pp. 60–8.

[2] Vol. I, 1, 97.

[3] Maurin (1986) 111ff.; Frei-Stolba (1994) 41ff. The total can be no more than approximate since fragmentary traces or monuments on which only the names of relatives have survived may refer to federal priests already attested by other texts.

[4] Alföldy (1973) 14–19.

arch in honour of Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus.[5] Since the former is a building inscription recording that along with his cousin(?) he constructed the first amphitheatre of the Three Gauls,[6] the text must count as a private dedication rather than an official inscription set up in honour of a provincial office-holder. A further monument at Saintes honours a second federal priest, C. Iulius Victor (no. 3), whose name and office are preserved in a funerary inscription repeated on the four faces of a mausoleum erected by his son under Tiberius or Claudius. Few as these texts are, they contrast sharply with the situation in Hither Spain, where local inscriptions enter the record only from the later first or earlier second century.[7] At the federal centre itself the first known traces of a provincial priest of Tres Galliae are the two dedications that Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4) made in his own name to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in one instance, in another to Mars Segomo and a deity whose name is lost; in the latter case the text is dated to A.D. 73 or 74 by mention of the consulships of Neratius Pansa and a colleague.[8] These traces can be supplemented with what is very possibly the inscribed base of a group monument erected in honour of a federal priest by the provincial council *ca.* A.D. 75 (no. 5). To all appearances, then, official inscriptions honouring provincial incumbents begin at Lugdunum under Vespasian just as they do at Tarraco.[9] As the record now stands, however, inscriptions set up by the Three Gauls become plentiful only from about the time of Hadrian, after whose reign they continue down to at least A.D. 220 (no. 33: Vieux)—a significantly longer span than at Tarraco, where honorific statues look to have been discontinued in the later second century, before the advent of the Severi. At Lugdunum in

[5] Maurin (1978) 181ff.; *id. ad ILA* 7, pp. 79–95.

[6] For the view that C. Iulius Victor (no. 3), the cousin of C. Iulius Rufus (no. 2), was named in the dedication that possibly crowned an entrance to the amphitheatre (*ILTG* 217) see Maurin *ad ILA* 18, pp. 131ff.

[7] The earliest local inscriptions look to be *CIL* 2, 5124 (Asturica: dated first or second century) and *CIL* 2, 6150 (Barcino: dated A.D. 100–50). For discussion see Alföldy (1973) 74–5 *ad* nos. 32, 34; cf. p. 15 arguing that *CIL* 2, 5124 (no. 32) could in principle be dated before—or after—*ca.* A.D. 70.

[8] On Adginnius Martinus see Gschaid (1991) 71–2, assigning his career to the Flavian period. For the date of the record see Vol. III, 1, 151–2.

[9] *Contra* Frei-Stolba (1994) 45–6 inferring that official monuments to provincial priests of Tres Galliae begin under Hadrian.

contrast the provincial cult evidently took on a new lease of life at the federal altar in the aftermath of the defeat of Clodius Albinus.[10]

ii. *Honorific Statues*

A further comparison with the surviving record in Hither Spain arises from the epigraphical practice followed at the federal sanctuary. At Tarraco official statue bases give the full name of the honoree, his filiation, tribe and origin, the list of offices he has held including the provincial priesthood, and the name of the dedicator. Quite clearly there are distinct affinities here to one of the regulations of the Lex Narbonensis, most obviously the practice itself of erecting an honorific statue with details of the honoree, though at Tarraco the year of tenure is omitted while the cursus is included, a feature on which the Narbonese law does not insist. At Lugdunum two Flavian records look to mirror a similar directive in closer detail.[11] One of the dedications set up by the federal priest Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4: *CIL* 13, 1675) refers to honours that have been decreed him by the federal council; comparison with the similar wording of provincial texts at Corduba suggests that these may well have included an honorific statue as laid down in the Narbonese charter.[12] Of particular interest is that his priesthood is specifically dated by consulships (line 5). Similarly a contemporary inscription known only from the uncertain wording of the manuscript tradition appears to originate from an early example of a group memorial (no. 5); this was dedicated by Tres Galliae, whose name was inscribed along an extensive common base, and seems likewise to have dated by consuls the tenure of some unknown federal priest.

What these records suggest, then, is that similar regulations to those laid down in the Flavian Lex Narbonensis were in force at Lugdunum just as they were at Narbo and Tarraco, a coincidence strengthened by the circumstance that at all three centres the epigraphic evidence dates from Vespasian's reign, probably the early years. Whereas a modified version of the regulations was evidently followed at Tarraco from the start, they may initially have been observed more closely at Lugdunum for a limited time during the Flavian period. However, at a subsequent stage under Hadrian and later, when evidence for provincial priests

[10] Vol. I, 2, 317–50; Vol. III, 1, 199–204.
[11] For detailed analysis see Vol. III, 1, 150–4.
[12] Cf. *CIL* 2^2/7, 291, 293, 295.

proliferates at the federal sanctuary, a formula more in line with that at Tarraco plainly became the rule. Statues to past priests are similarly set up by the provincial council but, as at Tarraco, the inscriptions on the bases omit the year of tenure while including the *cursus*, more often than not resumed *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus* (vel sim); as has recently become clear, this usage became a conventional stereotype from about the time of Hadrian.[13] Evidently some discretion was permissible in the local application of guide-lines distributed generally to a wide range of western provinces.

Individual statues to past priests, the standard form of honour at Tarraco, are relatively infrequent at Lugdunum though examples certainly occur, for instance the monument to C. Servilius Martianus (no. 21: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVa).[14] The far commoner iconographic practice of Tres Galliae was the innovative procedure of honouring a provincial priest *en famille*.[15] Not only the incumbent himself but also the members of his family—his wife, son(s), brother, father, grand-children—could be celebrated by statues placed in descending order of dignity on a long, massive base with accompanying texts that refer either to the priest himself or to the members of his family;[16] as a rule these are rectilinear but at least one such pedestal is semicircular.[17] No complete example of a familial monument has survived as the bases were removed and often enough re-used from the late Empire to the Middle Ages. But although the statues themselves have disappeared elements of their pedestals have been retrieved, many from the region of Les Terraux near the sanctuary, and from the length of the fragments it occasionally becomes possible to work out the number of statues the base once supported; in some cases, in fact, the surviving trace of a family member

[13] Alföldy (1973) 19; Wierschowski (1986) 289ff.

[14] Cf. nos. 13 (*ILTG* 223), 18. To these should perhaps be added no. 10, which seems not to have been a collective base; see Richard (1992) 500, n. 25 *ad CIL* 13, 1700 with ref.

[15] Cf. nos. 5(?), 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30, 31, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42. On family group statues see Richard (1992) 499–500, calculating a total of 24 inscriptions drawn from collective bases. For the family monuments of Ti. Eppius Bellicus and three other priests (including nos. 41, 41) see Richard (1999) 385–8, suggesting that intersecting avenues in the sanctuary will have been bordered by priestly monuments alligned regularly, much as the statues of provincial priests on the middle terrace of the provincial centre at Tarraco may have been placed in rows. He pinpoints two of these avenues and four of the monuments.

[16] Frei-Stolba (1994) 44 with n. 40 and examples.

[17] Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 186 with fig. 11; Richard (1999) *ibid.*, noting in particular the hemispherical pedestal of Ti. Eppius Bellicus and his family.

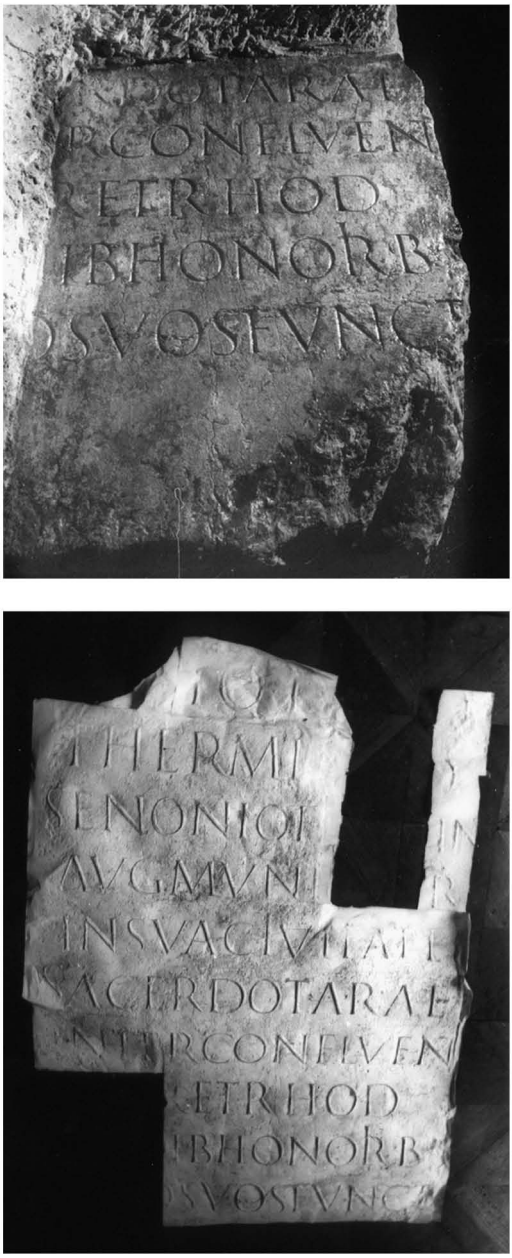


Plate 21. Inscription of Sextus Iulius Thermianus.

Plate 22. Monument of M. Magilius Honoratus honouring his father-in-law, Sextus Iulius Thermianus.

may be the only clue to a federal priesthood.[18] A representative example is the monument of Sextus Iulius Thermianus (no. 15: Pl. 21), who looks to have held the federal priesthood late under Trajan or early under Hadrian and has been recently re-attested by an inscribed block, evidently belonging to an extended base that once bore several statues. His own likeness will have stood at the extreme left of the family group as one faces it—that is if the same arrangement was followed as in other known cases, including the two pedestals on which Thermianus was honoured apparently at the Confluence (*CIL* 13, 1676), certainly in his *patria* of Sens (*CIL* 13, 2940; Pl. 22).[19] That the statues such pedestals supported could be at least life-size is suggested by the completely preserved base of Ti. Eppius Bellicus and his family, which reached a height of 2.55m.[20]

Remnants of such collective bases—*stylobatae* in Hirschfelds's terminology—are recognizable from the outsize lettering 10–30 cms. high that records the dedicator and stretches in a lower register below the socle: *Tres Provinciae Galliae*[21] or the name of the *civitas* followed by *publice*.[22] By and large the inscriptions that accompany individual statues conform to the standard pattern with the name of the honoree given in some cases in larger letters,[23] but the particulars can differ, a variation explicable on the assumption that the priest paid himself for his monument just as he paid for games in the amphitheatre.[24] The inference is confirmed at Corduba where the priest is stated to have assumed the cost of his statue himself (below, p. 220) and would be explicit at Lugdunum on the assumption that in the inscription of Adginnius Martinus (*CIL* 13, 1675) the restored phrase *impensis*] *suis* refers in fact to a statue. The word *publice* in contrast plainly shows that a monument was

[18] Cf. *CIL* 13, 1682, 1683, 1693, 1701, *AE* (1992) 1239. As these vestiges give neither the name nor the title of a federal priest, they clearly have no place in the list of incumbents.

[19] *CIL* 13, 1676 (base with 9 statues), 2940 (base with 6 statues); cf. Richard, *o.c.* 495–8, 500 with n. 26

[20] Richard (1999) 385–6 with fig. 2. For the altars dedicated to the *numina Augustorum* that appear to have been placed centrally before such monuments see Richard, *o.c.* 388ff. Cf. nos. 41, 42, further Vol. III, 3, 126.

[21] Cf. nos. 23, 27, 30 (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXVIIIb), 31, 38–9, 40. See further *CIL* 13, 1682, 1701. In some cases mention of the Three Gauls is a repetition from the dedication (nos. 23, 27), so to be distinguished from the inclusion of Tres Galliae in the priestly title (nos. 25, 26, 29, 31).

[22] Richard, *o.c.* 500, n. 25. Cf. nos. 6, 7, 8.

[23] Richard 500 with n. 27. Cf. nos. 15, 19, 28, 30, 31.

[24] So Richard, *o.c.* 500–1 with nn. 28, 29.

erected at the cost of a priest's *patria*, a point that explains why such a monument can be economical in the details it records.[25] The fashion has been thought to originate in the earlier part of the second century, possibly under Hadrian,[26] but if *CIL* 13, 1713 (no. 5) can be justifiably dated to A.D. 75 the extension of the name *Tres Provinciae Galliae* over several adjacent stones would attest the dedication of such a collective monument already in the reign of Vespasian.

To round the picture out, it should be noted lastly that in addition to family groups at the Confluence similar monuments honouring a priest and his family could be erected locally.[27] The memorial to Sextus Iulius Thermianus at the Confluence, for instance, which may well have stood near a second familial monument—the long base partly preserved at Lyon (*CIL* 13, 1676)—was matched by a third in his *patria* of Sens (*CIL* 13, 2940); the two latter are votive offerings to Mars, Vesta, and Volkanus, whose statues were interspersed with those of Thermianus and his relatives on the Lyon monument at least.[28] In sharp contrast to these huge collective monuments, however, the memorials which are occasionally recorded to have been set up by the provincial council in the *civitas* of a past federal priest look to have been uniformly single statues.[29] Presumably the reason here is that a simpler monument, in this case funded by the *civitas*, will have been less of a strain on local coffers.[30]

Elsewhere in the Latin west, more particularly at Narbo Martius, Tarraco and Corduba, statues were evidently authorized for only the

---

[25] Cf. nos. 6, 7, 8, where mention of three federal priests on the monument is restricted to the name and descent of each along with the abbreviated title *sacerdos*, which is itself omitted in the case of the principal honoree.

[26] Frei-Stolba (1994) 46, noting that the practice of recording the name of the dedicator *Tres Galliae* in outsize lettering looks to date from the late second century. But nos. 6, 7, 8 with *publice* in oversize letters must date from the period Vespasian-Hadrian.

[27] Cf. nos. 15 (dedicator not preserved), 25 (set up by the Sequani to C. Licinius Campanus, an Aeduan, at what was evidently an inter-regional shrine at Lac d'Antre, Villards-d'Héria); cf. Frei-Stolba, *o.c.* 50 with n. 65 and refs.

[28] Richard (1992) 494–8, noting that the deities are termed Augustan at Lyon and that the Sens votive offering is made *in honorem domus Augustae*, all very Roman in sentiment. Like Thermianus, who had been *flamen munerarius* at Sens before holding the federal priesthoood, both his son-in-law and the brother of his son-in-law had been *flamines munerarii* at Sens.

[29] Cf. nos. 22, 24, 33; Hirschfeld *CIL* 13, p. 229 *ad* C. 1049, 1463, 3162. For local statues decreed by the *concilium* of Africa Proconsularis or raised locally (though not to provincial priests) by the council see below, pp. 198–9.

[30] At Vieux (no. 33) the local *ordo* donated the ground for the statue, so presumably supported its costs. At Saintes (no. 22) the monument was set up explicitly *de publico*.

past priest himself. The group monument in contrast appears to have been peculiar to the federal sanctuary at Lugdunum,[31] a circumstance that calls for comment on the origin and background of this unique distinction. Whereas A. Allmer supposed that the intention was to distinguish provincial priests from other functionaries at the federal enclave, F. Richard has convincingly demonstrated that the group monument was rather borrowed from the practice of the Greek world, where sanctuaries and city-centres abound in *Familiengruppen* originally glorifying athletes and civic leaders, later members of the imperial family, governors and administrators; in some cases these are honoured by a city, in others by private individuals.[32] The custom, which had fallen into disuse in the Hellenistic Period, was revived and revitalized under the early Empire, so will have been deliberately implanted at Lugdunum, which in consequence became a sort of privileged enclave distinguished by an iconographic mode that was typically Graeco-oriental. As Richard stresses, this feature chimes with other Greek characteristics that are the hallmark of the federal sanctuary. There consequently seems every reason to infer imperial inspiration behind the imported fashion of group statues, especially in light of the imperial initiatives that mark the various stages of the history of the sanctuary. Equally clearly, these considerations tell strongly against the notion that the Gauls themselves played a dominant role in the creation or later evolution of the sanctuary by the Confluence.

iii. *The Priestly Title*

The title of the provincial priest, as attested by the epigraphy of the federal sanctuary, was *sacerdos* followed as a rule by the object of the cult he served and a reference in one way or another to the federal altar, the federal temple, or both; in addition these are frequently combined with a topographical phrase indicating tenure at the juncture of the Rhone and the Sâone.[33] Occasionally the title is *sacerdos tout court* (nos. 6, 7) or

[31] Frei-Stolba, *o.c.* 44 with n. 39

[32] Richard, *o.c.* 505–8, citing (n. 48) Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 88.

[33] Deininger (1965) 101 with n. 7; Maurin (1978) 193–7; cf. Vol. I, 2, 308ff., 317ff., 161; Gysler–Bielman (1994) 94–7. The wide deviations in the evolving title of the federal priest—none of which occurs more than twice, in surviving examples—make it clear that at no stage in the development of the cult was there a mandatory formula. The following variants occur at the Confluence: *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* (no. 2); *sacerdos Romae et Aug. ad aram ad confluentes* (no. 4); *sacerdos* (nos. 6, 7); *sacerdos arae inter confluentes Araris*

even omitted altogether (no. 8) and in some cases a reference to the Three Gauls has been included in the priestly formula (nos. 29, 31; Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXIXa, LXVa), but in contrast to the practice in Africa Proconsularis, for example, the priesthood of Tres Galliae has left no trace of the term *sacerdotalis*; past incumbents are recorded by the title they held during their tenure. Exceptions to this general practice are very few. The title of C. Iulius Rufus (no. 2) is given as *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* at the Confluence, where it appears in the building inscription of the amphitheatre. As noted earlier, this in no way compares to an honorific dedication set up by the province; whether it was set up during his tenure or conceivably later on completion(?) of construction is impossible to say. A second example is the priesthood of Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4), who in one of his two dedications at the sanctuary is evidently styled *sacerdos Romae et Aug.* In this case, however, the federal nature of his priesthood is clear from various features of the text, notably the fact that he was honoured by the Three Gauls and the dedication was funded *ex stipe*] *annua*; a second inscription defines his priesthood conventionally *ad aram ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani.*

An interesting point of nomenclature arises from the current status of the federal priest commemorated in his *patria.* On the usual supposition the *sacerdotium* of C. Iulius Rufus coincides with the dedication of the arch at Mediolanum in 18–19 B.C. (no. 2), yet priestly duties would surely have required his presence at the Confluence throughout his year. It is barely possible that he journeyed all the way to Saintes for a special occasion timed to coincide with a gap in the ritual calendar, but the arch could equally well have been dedicated at some point subsequent to his service at Lugdunum, that is at a time when he was a *past* priest; this would be confirmed if, as seems likely, he had served as *praefectus fabrum* after the federal priesthood.[34] In the same way, the inscription on the sarcophagus of C. Iulius Victor (no. 3) at

---

et Rhodani (nos. 14, 15); *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor.* (no. 16); *sacerdos ad templ. Rom. et Aug. ad confluent. Araris et Rhodani* (nos. 20, 23); *sacerdos ad templ. Romae et Augustorum* (nos. 21: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVa, 22); *sacerdos ad aram Caes. n. apud templum Romae at August. inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani* (nos. 27, 32?: Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXa, LXXI); *sacerdos ad aram Caess. nn. apud templ. Romae at Augg. inter confluentes Arar. et Rhod.* (nos. 28, 30: Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXIXb, LXVIIIb); *sacerdos apud aram Caesarum ad templum Romae at Augustorum Trium Provinc. Galliarum.* (no. 29: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIXa); *sacerdos ad templ. Rom. et Auggg. III Prov. Gall.* (no. 31: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXVa).

[34] Cf. Maurin *ad ILA* 7, p. 95, dating the priesthood to A.D. 10–15 (?), prior to the prefecture of the smiths. See Vol. III, 1, 92–3; further below, p. 45 with note 116.

Saintes surely records a former, not a current provincial priest. In other examples which are Flavian or later, if prescriptions similar to those of the Lex Narbonensis were in force, it would follow that the priest or priests in question remained members of the *ordo decurionum* in their *civitas* after their year as federal priest. Everything suggests, therefore, that the monument set up publicly at Cahors will have been erected to M. Lucterius Leo (no. 13) at a time when the honoree was himself a member of the local *ordo* that authorized it. The same point holds for the monument mentioning the three Pompeii which the Petrucorii set up *publice* at the federal centre (nos. 6–8); at least two of the three must be a past priest as there was only one federal priest each year. Conversely, the monument that one of them put up at Périgueux (no. 7) must date from a time when he was a former priest and member of the local *curia*. Who erected the two monuments at Lugdunum of Sex. Iulius Thermianus (no. 15) is not revealed by the surviving lines of their inscriptions but the corresponding familial statue in his *patria* of Sens must surely date from after his tenure. In the same way the handful of statues which the Three Gauls erected in the *civitas* of a priest look all to date from after the priest's term (nos. 22, 24); in fact that of T. Sennius Sollemnis (no. 33) was erected a good sixteen years later. It follows that, just as in Hispania citerior, the former federal priests honoured in these various ways are commemorated by the title they enjoyed during their year of office: *sacerdos arensis*, *sacerdos arae* … and the numerous variants listed above (p. 25 with n. 33); they are not styled *sacerdotalis* as in Proconsularis (and presumably Sardinia) from about the reign of Marcus Aurelius. As we have seen, *sacerdotalis* as the title of a former priest is rare in Tres Galliae, where it appears only in the *civitates* of the Morini and the Segusiavi (below, p. 33, n. 63). In that case a past federal priest will likely have been inscribed in the album of his local *ordo* under his former federal title, not as *sacerdotalis*, the term in use at Thamugadi, for instance (below, p. 189, 204).

a. *sacerdotes incerti*

Inscriptions set up locally to federal *sacerdotes* are immediately recognizable from the presence of one or more of the same qualifying elements.[35] Conversely the circumstance that an identifying phrase was

[35] Cf. *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad confluentem* (no. 2: Mediolanum); *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad confluentem* (no. 3: Mediolanum); *sacerdos arensis* (nos. 6, 7:

regularly included at the Confluence, where the federal connection would have been self-evident, suggests that lack of a similar qualification elsewhere, particularly in *civitates* remote from Lugdunum, tells strongly, if not conclusively, against identifying a *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* as a federal priest. The standard view in consequence is that a priest of Roma and Augustus who is attested in a local inscription without some allusion to the federal sanctuary must be a municipal priest, a *sacerdos* of the *civitas*.[36] In several cases this inference is corroborated by the presence of a *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* who is certainly municipal,[37] also by the circumstance that the local priest is more often termed *flamen*.[38]

The suggestion has nevertheless been made that mechanical application of this criterion is too rigid and that several priests who are attested in local inscriptions simply as *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* may in fact be federal, not municipal priests.[39] H.-G. Pflaum, in particular, went so far as to claim there was only one *sacerdos* in Gallia Comata, the high priest elected by the provincial council, hence all *sacerdotes* recorded in the Three Gauls must be federal priests elected annually at the Confluence.[40] A case in point occurs at Trier, where inscriptions attest a *flamen Aug.* alongside a *sacerdos Rom(ae) et Aug(usti)*. As the former is plainly a municipal priest, H. Wolff followed by other commentators takes the *sacerdotium* of Roma and Augustus to be federal:[41] on this view a reference to the Lugdunum sanctuary with its altar and temple or to the confluence of the Rhone and Sâone would have been superfluous since a federal priest is distinguishable from a local simply by virtue of his title *sacerdos*.

Périgueux); *sacerdos arae inter confluent. Arar. et Rhodani* (no. 15: Sens); *sacerdos III provinciarum Galliar.* (no. 25: Villards d'Héria); *sacerdos ad aram Caes. n. Trium Provinciarum Galliarum* (no. 26: Valentia).

[36] Bousquet (1971) 113, 114, n. 7; Chastagnol (1980) 189–90 with n. 6; Maurin (1986) 112 with nn. 19–20; Étienne (1993) 175 with n. 55; Frei-Stolba (1994) 46–8; Gysler–Bielman (1994) 111; Drinkwater (1979) 94–5 with n. 31. See now the review of the discussion by Demougin (1995) 190ff.

[37] Maurin (1986) 113 with nn. 21–3, cf. 114; Liertz (1998) 39, n. 105.

[38] Maurin (1978) 186; (1986) 113–14 with nn. 27–9; Gysler–Bielman (1994) 97–100 with corpus of inscriptions attesting local imperial priests. See in general Chastagnol (1980) 189.

[39] Maurin (1978) 195–7; cf. *id.* (1986) 112–13 with revisions.

[40] Pflaum (1948) 13; cf. Maurin (1978) 186.

[41] Wolf (1977) 207–11, 242 (=*AE*, 1976, 505). See further *id.* (1976); Frei-Stolba (1994) 47, nn. 51–2 with refs., 48, n. 57; Gysler–Bielman (1994) 108 with nn. 51–2.

A closer look at the epigraphical records themselves suggests a very different conclusion.[42] The title *sacerdos Rom(ae) et Aug(usti)* is securly attested at Trier by an inscribed statue base at the sanctuary of Mars Lenus.[43] Here Secundius(?) Priscus is recorded as *flamen*, plainly of Mars Lenus, then *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* followed by *mag. q. c. T.*, after which he served as prefect of a *cohors*. As U.-M. Liertz has pointed out, the place of the imperial priesthood between the flaminate of Mars Lenus and what must on any interpretation be offices within the *civitas Treverorum* necessitates the conclusion that the *sacerdotium* is municipal: a federal office lacking any reference to the sanctuary of the Three Gauls would hardly have been sandwiched within a list of local offices. The significance of the later offices has been variously interpreted but on the attractive proposal of Liertz, following a suggestion of J.-B. Keune, Priscus will have been *mag(ister) q(uaestor) c(ivitatis) T(reverorum)* on the model of the similar office of *magister* attested in a number of inscriptions at Aventicum in the first half of the first century A.D.[44] The office of *magister* would then denote a leading figure among the Treveri at a time when the administrative posts of Trier had not yet been fully adapted to the Roman system. The same title of an imperial priest at *colonia Treverorum* looks to be attested in a fragmentary inscription at Mainz.[45] Here the mention of Roma suggests the completion *sacerdot*]*i* rather than *flamin*]*i Romae* [*et Augusti*], given that the *sacerdotium* of Roma and Augustus is already securely attested in the city. In this text again the priesthood of Roma and Augustus looks to be municipal in light of the following reference to the *colonia Treverorum*, especially if this was preceded by other municipal offices. As for the date of the office, this must be Julio-Claudian if G. Alföldy is right that the text refers to the *ala Treverorum*, which was disbanded in A.D. 70.[46] An early date is also

[42] For discussion of the various texts see Liertz (1998) 84–6.

[43] [*Se?*]*c(undio) Prisc*[*o*] | [*f*]*lamini* | [*s*]*acerd(oti) Rom(ae) et* | [*A*]*ug(usti) mag(istro) q(uaestori) c(ivitatis) T(reverorum)* | [*pr*]*aef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Aresac(orum)*. (*BRGK* 8, 1927, 322)

[44] In contrast to the sequence *sacerd. Rom. et Aug. mag.* at Trier the Avenche inscriptions give *sac. Aug. mag./ sac. Augustal. mag.* (*CIL* 13, 5093–4, 11478). For discussion of the various completions that have been proposed for the formula at Aventicum see Liertz, *o.c.* 34ff., 85, n. 39.

[45] […]*IIIL̦IA*[…|…]*io Tiber*[…|…]*i Romae* [*et Augusti … |… c*]*olon(ia/iae) Tre*[*verorum …|… praefec*]*to ad ripa*[*m …|…*]*rum qua*[…|*… civita*]*te Treve*[*rorum …|…*]. (*BRGK* 58, 1977, 84=*AE*, 1968, 321 with the completions of G. Alföldy). For discussion see Wolff (1977) 204ff. The tentative suggestion in Vol. I, 1, 138–9, that the text might refer to a federal priest is withdrawn in light of the present analysis.

[46] Alföldy (1968) 37–8, 188, no. 69.

suggested by the double mention of *colonia Treverorum* and *civitas Treverorum* in the chronological development of the *cursus*, which evidently overlapped the period when Trier became a colony under Claudius. However, against these two examples of *sacerdos Rom(ae) et (Augusti)*, must be balanced a secure reference at Trier to an unnamed municipal *flamen Aug(usti)*.[47] After two local priesthoods and the civil office of *quinquennalis* this *ignotus* completed the *militae equestres* apparently some time before the reign of Hadrian, under whom the *cohors Hispanorum* disappeared. What we have then at Trier are in sum two early records of a *sacerdos*, who presumably celebrated the cult of Roma and Augustus at an altar, along with what looks to be a later attestation of a *flamen Aug.*—contradictory testimony at first sight on both the title of the municipal priest and the content of the civic cult.

One solution to the impasse is, as we have seen, to take the *sacerdotium* as federal, an interpretation scarcely reconcilable with its occurence in at least one case within a municipal cursus. The alternative, largely overlooked in previous scholarship, is to allow for a change of title.[48] As R. Etienne has convincingly demonstrated, precisely such a modification took place at Aventicum, where in one inscription the same individual, T. Iulius Abucinus, is recorded as *flamen Aug. sacerdos perpetuus* as well as *primus omnium patronus* (*CIL* 13, 5102–4 = *AE*, 1967, 328–30).[49] The change in terminology evidently reflects a change in the status of Aventicum itself, which as the central community of the *civitas* of the Helvetii was granted the rank of *colonia* under Vespasian.[50] From this time onwards, once the city had been given Roman forms of government, the municipal priest, chosen by the *ordo decurionum*, took the older Roman title of *flamen* in preference to *sacerdos*, which quickly disappeared.[51] As the examples cited by Gysler-Bielman make clear, how-

---

[47] *Flam(en) Aug(usti)* […?] | *flamen Leni M*[*art*]*is quinq*[*uennalis*] | *praef(ectus) cohort(is)* [*Hi*]*spanor(um) eq*[*uitatae*] | *tribunus milit*[*um*] *leg(ionis) VIIII Hi*[*spanae*] | *praefect(us) e*[*quitum alae*] | *Vocon*[*tiorum*] (*CIL* 13, 4030a + b = *ILuxembourg* 109).

[48] The possibility is noted briefly by Gysler–Bielman (1994) 107, n. 49.

[49] Étienne (1993) 173–5. For the attribution of *primus* to *patronus* rather than *sacerdos perpetuus* see the review of current debate in Liertz (1998) 37ff., noting that *perpetuus* implies that the title bestowed by the *ordo decurionum* was retained after the year of office.

[50] For an overview of current opinion see Liertz (1998) 33–4. The priesthood of Abucinus must approximate to, if not actually coincide with the grant of colonial status since his tribe is given as Quirina—that of Vespasian—whereas the names Tiberius Iulius are patently Julio-Claudian. The same conclusion follows from his post as *praefectus operum publicum*, which points to a new phase of construction in the young colony.

[51] Étienne, *o.c.* 175, n. 54, citing *CIL* 13, 5063 = *ILS* 7009: *flamen Augusti*; see further

ever, with the bestowal of *latium* the competence of the municipal priest will by no means have been restricted to the principal city but must have still applied throughout the *civitas* as a whole. The point emerges from epigraphical evidence documenting the activities of a municipal priest not only at the main centre of a *civitas* but also in its various *vici* or on the limits of its territory, likewise by his concern for the *vicani* or for an individual *pagus*.[52] It may be suggested, therefore, that a similar modification in titulature took place at Trier subsequent to its elevation to the rank of *colonia* and that the securely attested flaminate dates from a period when the colony had been equipped with an administrative framework on the Roman model. If so, it would follow that the earlier cult of Roma and Augustus, which no doubt took its cue from the federal worship at Lugdunum, was superseded by a cult of Augustus alone—that is, unless the inclusion of Roma is simply omitted from mention in the title of the *flamen*: the joint cult is occasionally served elsewhere by a *flamen*, if far less commonly than by a *sacerdos*.[53]

Further examples of a supposed federal *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* have been sought in a well-known series of inscriptions attesting a temple of Mars Mullo at Rennes. The base of a statue dedicated to T. Flavius Postuminus records that in A.D. 135 the *civitas Riedonum* decreed that statues in his honour, duly inscribed with a copy of the decree, should be placed in the *basilica* of the temple of Mars Mullo, presumably constructed recently under Hadrian, also that places should be set aside in the same *basilica* for the statues he had promised to set up himself to the *numina* of the *pagi*.[54] The base of Postuminus is evidently inscribed in

---

5064 = *ILS* 7010: *flaminica primae Aug(ustae)*. Conceivably Abucinus had been elected *sacerdos*, then in mid term was named *flamen* by the local *ordo*. At which stage the title *perpetuus* was awarded is not apparent. Whether an unpublished inscription refers to Abucinus or a near contemporary is unclear; the fragments read [*sac*]*erd(oti)* [*p*]*erpe*[*tuo*] and [*publ*]*ic(o) patron(o)*: Liertz, *o.c.* 38–9 with n. 104 and refs.

[52] Gylser–Bielman (1994) 104–5 with nn. 35–7, citing *CIL* 13, 1376–7 (with additamenta Vol. 13, *pars quarta*, p. 18), 11151, 412; see further 5063. The competence of the municipal priest can be compared in this respect to that of the *duumvir*. On the constitutional complexities of the *civitas* see the review of current opinion in Drinkwater (1979) 89–91.

[53] See, for example, *CIL* 13, 1376, perhaps also 548, 1927, 3200, 5428.

[54] *T(ito) Fl(avio) Postumino, sace*[*r*]*d*|*oti Rom(ae) et Aug(usti), quem pri*|*mum civitas Riedonum pe*[*r*]*petuo flamonio Martis Mul*|*lonis honoravit, bis duoviro, om*|*nibus officis apud suos functo, civi*|*tas Riedonum publice statuas cum* | *suis ornamentis posuit, decreto in*|*fra scribto* (sic): |

L(ucio) Tutilio Luperco Pontiano, C(aio) Calpur|*nio Atiliano co(n)s(ulibus), decreverunt pari* | *et summo consensu Fl(avio) Postumino,* | *honestissimo civi, ob eiius* (sic) *erga rem* | *publicam et in singulos merita et* | *liberalitatem et mores emendatis*|*simos, ob quos ei subinde gratias ege*|*runt,*

accordance with the first clause of the decree, while the second clause is reflected in two other bases that T. Flavius Postuminus dedicated to a deity who is evidently the *numen* of the *pagus*,[55] in honour of the *domus divina* and a *pagus*;[56] the *pagus* and the deity differ in each inscription. Three, if not four, other bases were similarly dedicated in another year by L. Campanius Priscus and his son Virilis in honour of the *domus divina* and a *pagus* to the *numina* of three different *pagi*;[57] one of these is the same *pagus* as in the dedication of Flavius Postuminus (*AE*, 1969/70, 405b) but the *numen* differs.

The key feature of these texts for present purposes is that T. Flavius Postuminus, L. Campanius Priscus and (L. Campanius) Virilis are all recorded as *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.*[58] That these could be federal priests, however, as has sometimes been proposed,[59] looks excluded by the following considerations. Both the statue in honour of T. Flavius Pos-

---

statuas, quae in basilica templi | Martis Mullonis hac inscribtione (sic) *po|nerentur, et in eadem basilica loca sta|[t]uarum quas positurum se numinibus | [pa]gorum edixerat.* (*AE*, 1969/70, 405a).

For discussion see Bousquet (1971) 112–21; Chastagnol (1980) 187–99. The texts are confused and the translation partly erroneous in MacMullen–Lane (1992) 76–7.

[55] *In honorem domus | divinae et pagi Ma|tantis, Deo Mercurio | Atepomaro | T(itus) Fl(avius) Postuminus, sacerdos Ro|mae et Aug(usti), quem primum | civitas Riedonum perpe|tuo flamonio Martis Mul|lonis honoravit, bis duovirum* (sic), *| omnibus officis apud suos | functus, statuam cum suis | ornamentis de suo posui*[*t. L(ocus)*] *d(atus) ex d(ecurionum)* [*s(ententia)*]. (*AE*, 1969/70, 405b).

[*In*] *honor*[*em domus | di*]*vinae et* [*pagi … | …*]*ini, Mar*[*ti Mulloni, | T(itus) Fl(avius) P*]*ostumi*[*nus, sacerd(os) Ro|ma*]*e et Aug(usti), q*[*uem primum civ*]*itas Ried*[*onum perpe|tuo flamonio Martis Mul|lonis honoravit, …*]. (*AE*, 1969/70, 405c = *CIL* 13, 3151).

The promise of Postuminus to set up statues in the *basilica* of the temple was possibly made on the occasion he was named *flamen perpetuus* of Mars Mullo: cf. Bousquet (1971) 114.

[56] In Chastagnol's opinion (1980) 194, the meaning will be "in honour of the divine house and to the god … of the *pagus* … .". This interpretation looks excluded by the circumstance that the votive dative of the deity regularly follows *in h. d. d.*/*in honorem domus divinae* without *et*: for example, *In honorem | domus divinae | deo Mercurio* (*CIL* 13, 2462, cf. 5169, 6221 *et passim*: see *CIL* 13, Index pp. 166, 192). While much less frequent than *in honorem domus divinae*, the formula *in honorem pagi* certainly occurs: cf. the well-known dedication at the Confluence to *Diana Aug(usta)* in honour of the *pagus* (*CIL* 13, 1670).

[57] *CIL* 13, 3148–50, ?3152. The inscriptions all read … *L. Campanius Priscus et Virilis fil(ius) sacerdotes Romae et Aug(usti) statuam cum suis ornamentis de suo posuerunt l(oco) d(ato) ex d(ecreto) s(enatus) / d(ecurionum) s(ententia)*. For the texts in full see Bousquet (1971) 117, to which add *AE* (1969/70) 405c (= *CIL* 13, 3151 with restorations).

[58] The old idea of Lily Ross Taylor that cult was offered to the *genius* of the living emperor, cf. Chastagnol (1980) 190, has long since given way to the view that he received cult directly *ut deus*.

[59] Frei-Stolba (1994) 47–8, nn. 54, 57 with refs., cf. 51, n. 70.

tuminus and the statue he himself set up to Deus Mercurius Atepomarus state that he has held all offices in his own community (*omnibus officis apud suos functus*). Several offices of his *cursus*, both religious and civil, are mentioned beforehand, so in this respect the formula is partly tautologous—*omnibus* can hardly be restricted to offices not listed explicitly since in that case to record *omnibus* (rather than, say, *ceteris*) would be illogical.[60] Everything suggests, therefore, that *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.*, which lacks any reference to the federal sanctuary,[61] denotes a municipal office just as do the other local offices also picked out in detail earlier: the perpetual flaminate of Mars Mullo, an office with which Flavius Postuminus was the first to be honoured,[62] and the two terms as *duumvir*. It might be added that in the decree Flavius Postuminus is honoured because of *erga rem publicam … merita*. As the federal priesthood was the greatest distinction a man could bring upon his *civitas*, some reference to this could have been expected had he served as priest of Tres Galliae at the Confluence. It follows that, if Flavius Postuminus had completed the full municipal cursus in his *civitas*, he was a *past* priest at the time his statue base was inscribed. It is true that on rare occasions *sacerdotalis* occurs in this sense in other *civitates* of Tres Galliae,[63] but the word is not attested in the *civitas Riedonum* and nothing indicates that the term was in common use, much less standard. This

[60] That the phrase *omnibus officis / honoribus apud suos functus* resumes the entire municipal career is clear from its general usage, as notably on the inscribed bases of statues in honour of provincial priests of Hispania Citerior. See further *CIL* 12, 3275; Pl. 55 = *ILS* 6980a, in which the formula resumes the offices listed in detail in *CIL* 12, 3274; Pl. 54 = *ILS* 6980 (below, p. 184). When specific offices of the *cursus* are listed in addition to the formula, the purpose must have been to call attention to these particular honours. Cf. *CIL* 2, 4223 (= *ILS* 6932): *omnib(us) in re publica sua honorib(us) functus, iivir bis, … ; AE* (1992) 1240: *fl*[*am*]*in(i) Aug(ustali?) mune*[*ra*]*r(io) in sua civitate …* [*omn*]*ib(us) honorib(us)* [*apu*]*d suos funct(o)* (below, no. 15). *Contra* Chastagnol (1980) 190, taking the formula in *AE* (1969/70) 405a to mean that Postuminus had served all offices of the municipal career *up to* the duumvirate, after which he had been the first *flamen perpetuus* of Mars Mullo, then *sacerdos Romae et Augusti*.

[61] Emphasized by Bousquet (1971) 113 with n. 7; cf. Chastagnol (1980) 190.

[62] Bousquet (1971) notes that Postuminus was the first in the *civitas* to be named *flamen perpetuus* but hardly the first to be *flamen* of Mars.

[63] Cf. *CIL* 6, 29692: … *in civitate sua sacerdotalis* (Morini); *CIL* 13, 1632 (Segusiavi). For examples in the Germanies see *CIL* 13, 7064, 11810 (Taunenses), 7918 (A.D. 352), 8244, *BRGK* (1937) 162 (*col. Agr.*). In Africa Proconsularis *sacerdotalis* appears not to come into usage before the reign of Marcus Aurelius. At the provincial level past priests of Tres Galliae are recorded locally with the title they used during their sacerdotal year at the Confluence: cf. nos. 2, 3, 6, 7. For the contrary view see Chastagnol (1980) 191 with n. 8, citing *CIL* 13, 1632; *CIL* 6, 29692: he argues that, if Postuminus were a past priest, he would have been recorded as *sacerdotalis*.

removes a difficulty in the inscription recording that Campanius Priscus and his son Virilis were each *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.* Since one nowhere finds two municipal priests in office at the same time,[64] at least one of them—quite possibly both—will have been a *past* municipal priest like Flavius Postuminus at the time he made the dedication to the *numina* of the *pagi.* In any event nothing goes to show that these were federal priests.

It remains to note that the inference of a joint shrine of the emperor and Mars Mullo is surely invalid as there is no trace here of a combined cult:[65] T. Flavius Postuminus is not said to be *sacerdos* of Roma and Augustus and *flamen perpetuus* of Mars Mullo contemporaneously (*eodemque tempore* vel sim.). What is recorded is surely that he had held both offices *in succession* by the time he was honoured with a statue placed in the *basilica* of the temple; R. Étienne attractively explains this as the *porticus triplex* surrounding the temple court.[66] Otherwise Postuminus has, at his own expense, set up a statue *cum suis ornamentis* to the *numen* of a *pagus* and the same procedure has been followed by L. Campanius Priscus and his son Virilis. It is true that the dedication is prefaced by the formula *in honorem domus divinae et pagi* … but what is at issue here is *honos* not *cultus*: *in honorem domus divinae* is no more concerned with cult than is the formula *in honorem pagi* (above) or *in honorem legionis / civium / gentis.*[67] It follows that at Rennes one must suppose a centre for the imperial cult—presumbly an altar at which the *sacer-*

---

[64] *Contra* Chastagnol (1980) 189, 190, 191. In richer provincial cities an individual *flamen* of one or more deified emperors, in addition to the single municipal priest, is common enough, of course.

[65] *Contra* Chastagnol (1980) 192, 194, 195, 196, taking the inferred joint shrine at Rennes to show the general way in which the imperial cult was integrated with the local cults of Gallic *civitates*. As this procedure is supposedly illustrated only at the *civitas* of the Riedones (*o.c.* 192, 194, 195), to assume a similar situation in other *civitates* of Tres Galliae looks premature. The thesis is re-stated in *id.* (1995) 593–4. For the unsubstantiated notion of similar joint temples at the provincial level see Le Roux (1994) 402.

[66] *Id.* (1987) 40–1; cf. Bousquet (1971) 116, n. 14, suggesting that *basilica* should denote "une cour à portiques entourant le *fanum*" with statues of both gods and men placed in the porticos. Chastagnol (1980) 192, refers to "la grande salle appelée basilique dans laquelle furent dressées les statues des *sacerdotes* et celles des *numina pagorum*"; cf. *id.* (1995) 602: "Les statues et bases prenaient place sous des portiques". For the placement of imperial *imagines* not only in the *pronaos* of a temple but also under the adjoining portico see Van Andringa (2000) 38–9 with n. 53, citing Dig. 34, 2, 6, 2. See further in general Scheid (1995) 430.

[67] Vol. II, 1, 432, n. 58. For *in honorem gentis* see *CIL* 2, 396. *Contra* Bousquet (1971) 120, referring to the local cult of the *domus divina*; cf. Chastagnol (1980) 190, 191, 192.

dos Rom. et Aug. officiated—in addition to but *separate from* the temple of Mars Mullo,[68] which was served, at least in the case of Postuminus, by a *flamen perpetuus*. That the two were closely connected is shown by the circumstance that the imperial priest set up statues to the *numina* of the *pagi* in the portico(?) of the temple, also by the fact that *flamen perpetuus* looks to be a term borrowed from the imperial cult.[69] But nothing goes to show that the cults of Mars Mullo on the one hand and of Roma and the Augustus on the other were fused at a joint complex.[70]

Other instances that on the reasoning of Pflaum and others might be taken to attest federal priests are open to objection along the same lines. For example, at Bois l'Abbé by Eu, L. Cerialis Rectus financed the construction of a theatre *cum proscaenio* which he dedicated to the *numina Augustorum*, the *pagus Catuslougus*, and *deus* Mars (*AE*, 1978, 501; 1982, 716).[71] His office of *sacerdos Ṛ*[*omae et Aug(usti)*] is listed before the posts of *quattuorvir* and *quaestor*, so gives all the appearance of a local priesthood. Similarly other *sacerdotia* that show no trace of federal connection are best taken provisionally as local priesthoods and omitted from the present discussion.[72] The only category that calls for passing comment is the series of priests—notably C. Iulius Serenus—attested by inscriptions found on the forum before the portico leading to the local imperial temple at Lugdunum Convenarum (*ILTG* 64, 76–80, 82–4; cf. 81).[73] These are certainly not federal appointees but have been taken to serve a regional cult of Roma and Augustus on behalf of the "Nine Peoples" south of the Garonne, among whom no federal *sacerdos* is attested. As earlier discussion has shown, these are better understood as local municipal priests.[74]

---

[68] *Contra* Chastagnol (1995) 594, 597, 602.

[69] The text of *AE* (1969/70) 405a states that Titus Flavius Postuminus, priest of Roma and Augustus, was the first whom the *civitas Riedonum* honoured with the perpetual *flamonium* of Mars Mullo. For similar action by the *ordo* of Lugdunum, for example, see *CIL* 13, 1751 = *ILS* 4131: … *cui sanctissimus ordo Lugudunens(is)* | *perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit* …

[70] As noted by Chastagnol (1980) 195–6 with refs., there are numerous instances elsewhere in Tres Galliae of dedications to the emperor and an indigenous divinity. But this is a far cry from a joint *cult* of the emperor and a local deity, a combination which would seem to contravene the ruling of Augustus that he might be paid cult only if Dea Roma shared in the worship (Suet., *Aug.* 52).

[71] Frei-Stolba (1994) 47–8 with n. 55 and refs.

[72] *Contra* Maurin (1986) 113–14. For a list of indeterminate *sacerdotes* see Gysler–Bielmann (1994) 99–100.

[73] Maurin (1978) 200; Frei-Stolba (1994) 48, nn. 56–7 with refs.

[74] Full analysis in Vol. III, 1, 24–39.

b. Gallic features

Two peculiarities of the priestly titulature, repeated in no other province of the western empire, call for particular consideration.[75] With the exception of one record of the earliest priest to be epigraphically attested (no. 2), the filiation is never given in the Roman fashion, that is by reference simply to the father's *praenomen*; presumably C. Iulius Rufus wished to affirm the citizenship of his family and the antiquity of his free birth in recording at the Confluence that he was C. *f.* (*ILTG* 217).[76] In the case of other federal priests the filiation, sometimes placed after the priest's *cognomen* (nos. 10, 17, 31, 33) or even ethnic qualification(no. 21), repeats the *gentilicium* and *cognomen* of the father, as a rule with the *praenomen*: for example, C. Servilius, C. Servilii Domiti *filius*, Martianus (no. 21; cf. nos. 7, 8, 17). This is a clear sign of membership in a great family which has taken care to transmit their name in Roman fashion by repeating the *gentilicium* in the names of both the father and the son. In contrast the dedication of the arch at Saintes records that C. Iulius Rufus is not only C. Iuli C[a]tuaneuni *f.*, but also C. Iuli Agedomopatis *nepos*, Epotsorovidi *pron(epos)*, a proud reference to the grant of Roman citizenship to his grandfather and to the indigenous origin of the family (*ILA* 7). As Maurin notes, when the filiation is expressed by a single name of the father, for example C. Iulius, Congonnetodubni *f.*, Victor (no. 3; cf. nos. 4, 25, 33: Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXII–LXXIII), mention of the bare *cognomen* must imply that the *praenomen* and *gentilicium* of father and son were identical.

A second distinctive feature is the standard omission of the Roman tribe, an idiosyncracy of Gallo-Roman onomastics which suggests that the *tribus Romana* had lost much of its significance. At the Confluence it is normally replaced in the nomenclature by the ethnic qualification—Aeduus, Sequanus, Lemovicis, Cadurcus, Senonius, Carnutis, Arvernus, Turonus, Santonus, Nervius, Tricassinus—which calls attention to the distinction conferred by his office on a priest's *civitas* while affirming the native origin of the priest himself; an exception is C. Pompeius, M. Pompei Libonis *f.* Quirina (*tribu*) Sanctus (no. 8). Occasionally, however, in the case of inscriptions engraved in a priest's *patria* federal priests do mention the Roman tribe to which they belonged, a

[75] See the helpful commentary of Maurin (1986) 117–18; cf. *id.* (1994) 94.
[76] Maurin, *o.c.* 117, n. 41, citing Seston (1962).

sure sign of Roman citizenship (cf. nos. 3, 7, 26: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXXb).[77] There is even one instance where the ethnic *Aeduus* is given in addition to the tribe, in this case because the Sequani have erected *publice* on the territory of their own *civitas* a statue to C. Licinius, Pomptina (*tribu*) Latini *fil.*, Campanus, Aeduus, who had completed a full domestic *cursus* (no. 25).[78] The striking point in retrospect is that these singularities in the formula for denominating federal priests continue throughout the entire history of the federal sanctuary. What they amount to, in sum, is a constant affirmation of the indigenous character of the federal priesthood and assembly.

iv. *Qualifications, Origin, Social Background*

Only two complete inscriptions, in each case known solely from the manuscript tradition, preserve the record of a provincial priest: the dedication of Q. Adginnius Martinus, *flamen* and *duumvir* in his *patria* (no. 4: *CIL* 13, 1674), and the statue base for C. Servilius Martianus, whose title is perhaps the earliest to mention the Temple of the Three Gauls (no. 21: *CIL* 13, 1706).[79] All other epigraphical texts are fragmentary, so often enough lack details of the background or career—even the name of the incumbent is lost in a third of these. All the same, the information they do record is for the most part uncontentious and informative.

As implied by the Lex Narbonensis and confirmed by the names of incumbents, Roman citizenship was a prerequisite, as no doubt was good character and a minimum age—presumably of at least twenty-five years, though most priests must have been considerably older;[80] in one exceptional instance from the second century a priest held office as high priest at the age of only twenty-two (no. 10). Personal wealth will also have been a key criterion since the expenses shouldered by the incumbent could range from the construction of public buildings such as the provincial amphitheatre (no. 2) to the defrayal of cult rites and mass entertainment, not to mention the probable costs of his own commemorative statue. An instructive example is provided by the career of Sextus Iulius Thermianus (no. 15), who had earlier

[77] Fishwick, Priesthood (1996) 416–17.
[78] Frei-Stolba (1994) 50, n. 65.
[79] Frei-Stolba, *o.c.* 43 with nn. 35, 37.
[80] Deininger (1965) 151; Alföldy (1973) 44–6. On the minimum age for holding municipal office see the survey of Curchin (1990) 32–3.

served as *flamen Aug. munerarius* at Sens, where his voluntary *editio* of gladiatorial contests in his *patria* may well have paved the way for his choice as *legatus* to the provincial *concilium* and even been a factor in his eventual election as chairman and federal *sacerdos*.[81] The most elaborate exhibition of games given by a federal priest is, of course, the four days of gladiatorial combats that T. Sennius Sollemnis displayed *ca.* A.D. 220,[82] an ostentatious display of wealth that occured some fifty years or so after the senatorial decree of *ca.* A.D. 176 had supposedly placed a limit on the ruinous expenses incurred by the *sacerdotes fidelissimarum Galliarum vestrarum* (*CILA* 2, 2, 339: lines 14ff.).[83] Such extravagance may have been occasioned by the need to show support for a regime that had triumphed at Lugdunum.

Generalizations on the origins of the priests of Tres Galliae are inevitably undermined by the uneven survival of epigraphic evidence. As could be expected, the first priest was drawn from the Aedui, who were located close to Lugdunum, yet the next two we hear of come from the distant centre of Mediolanum Santonum. In the case of the first of these his potential as a benefactor must have been an element in his election, perhaps also his citizenship if enfranchised Gauls were in limited supply. The first priest of Belgica appears early under Vespasian but thereafter the surviving sources document only a single example from the Severan period. With these two representatives of Belgica can be compared approximately fifteen from Aquitania and fourteen from Lugdunensis; in several other instances the priest's origin is unknown. To judge from the extant texts, priests of Aquitania look to predominate in the first and second centuries, those of Lugdunensis in the Severan era and later, but firm inferences are obviously unwise given the gaps in our sources. It is nevertheless of note that the first priest from Lugdunum itself, perhaps a Romanized *incola* who was a member of the Segusiavi (no. 26), is dated under the Severi (below, pp. 57–8). What seems at all events clear is that there is nothing to suggest the provincial priesthood lost its appeal as implied by the origins of later priests of Hispania Citerior. The continued attractiveness of the high priesthood is clearly reflected in the huge expenditures on games incurred by T. Sennius Sollemnis, the wealthy federal priest of the Viducasses (no. 33).

---

[81] So persuasively Richard (1992) 498–9.
[82] Pflaum (1948) 14–16; Vol. II, 1, 580.
[83] Deininger (1965) 105; Vol. II, 1, 580.

Just as in the Greek East the high priesthood was plainly the preserve of an affluent oligarchy,[84] an elite whose power and influence extended beyond their particular *civitas*. Indeed in some *civitates* the *sacerdotium* was repeatedly held by members of the same family: grandfather, father and grandson (nos. 6, 7, 8) or father and son (nos. 10, 17?)—one might compare, for example, the similar record of the Vedii of Ephesos or the Ulpii of Aizanoi, who in each generation contributed an *archierieus* of Asia.[85] At the outset provincial priests were evidently drawn from the Gallic nobility, who competed for the privilege of conducting rites that expressed loyalty to the occupying power at a bastion of imperial ideology. From this perspective, then, the provincial *sacerdotium* has all the appearance of a device intended to keep the native aristocracy quiet in advance of the planned invasion of Germany. As J. F. Drinkwater has pointed out, however, a change had taken place by the early second century in that later high priests were no longer drawn from the Gallic nobility—the Iulii in particular practically disappear from the sources—but are now members of a new bourgeoisie involved in business and trade.[86] On the other hand Pliny testifies to the prestige of a provincial council's decision (*Ep.* 2, 13, 4) and a considerable degree of political importance must have attached to the high priesthood in so far as the *concilium* which he chaired could thank Roman administrators or even complain on occasion of maladministration by the governor.[87]

The upper and the middle classes of Gallic society—the social milieu from which provincial priests were drawn—were in any event firmly rooted in the *civitas* and closely linked with local cult.[88] At Périgueux, for example, M. Pompeius Libo (no. 7) set up a dedication to a god whose name is lost and to *deus* Apollo Cobledulitavus, while Sext. Pomponius Paternus (no. 9) is attested by a taurobolic altar which his son L. Pomponius Paternus erected and dedicated to the *numina Augustorum* and Magna Mater Deorum *Aug(usta)*. Similarly at Argentomagus an anonymous federal priest (no. 11) made a dedication to Mater Deum (Cybele). At the Confluence Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4) erected a dedication to Mars Segomo, the patron god of the Sequani, and a deity whose

[84] See recently Hertz (1997) 256–7.

[85] See in general Campanile (1994).

[86] Drinkwater (1978) 819, 822–3, 832–8; *id.* (1983) 111–14.

[87] Deiniger (1965) 162. On the general question of social status see Frei-Stolba (1994) 50, n. 66 with refs., none of which deals specifically with the standing of provincial priests.

[88] As noted by Frei-Stolba (1994) 48–50.

name is lost,[89] but whether an unknown priest (no. 35) paid his vow to a local or a Roman god (or both?) is unclear from the uncertain text now known only from various manuscript versions. Several federal *sacerdotes* were benefactors in their own community. C. Iulius Rufus (no. 2) built an honorific arch at Saintes in honour of Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus, while at Périgueux M. Pompeius Libo (no. 7) restored the dilapidated temple of Dea Tutela and the public baths.[90] T. Sennius Sollemnis (no. 33), who served as *flamen* among the Viducasses as well as provincial *sacerdos*, was honoured locally by a statue which the Three Gauls set up to him *primo umquam in sua civitate*. If Pflaum's restorations of the text inscribed on the base are correct, he completed the local baths which his father Sollemninus had bequeathed to his compatriots and left a legacy of some sort to cover future upkeep and repairs.[91] The link with the *civitas* emerges most obviously, of course, from the double testimony of monuments that were erected in a priest's *patria* as well as at the Confluence. Thus M. Lucterius Leo (no. 13) was commemorated by the *civitas* at Cahors, the chief place of the Cadurci, as well as at the Confluence, whereas the Pompeii of Périgueux, one of whom erected a local dedication in the *civitas*, obtained a family monument set up *publice* by the Petrucorii at Lugdunum (nos. 6, 7, 8). Sex. Iulius Thermianus (no. 15), who is honoured by a family monument set up by his son-in-law at Sens, looks to have had two monuments at Lugdunum. Again, at least two of the monuments set up locally by the province to former provincial priests (nos. 22, 33) were erected on ground granted by the local *ordo*, which presumably supported the costs of the statue as well. An incongruity in this overall picture is C. Licinius Campanus (no. 25), to whom the Sequani, by decision of the local *ordo* (*publice*), inscribed a statue which they set up at their sanctuary in Val d'Héria. The erection here of a monument of a notable member of the Aedui, listing his full roster of domestic offices and honours, looks a clear sign of the regional significance and attraction of the official cult places of the Sequani on Lac d'Antre and in Val d'Héria.[92]

[89] On the local career of Adginnius Martinus in the *civitas Sequanorum* see Gschaid (1991) 71–3, further Fishwick, Regulations (1998) 249–52.

[90] For the possibility that the amphitheatre at Périgueux may have been donated by a federal priest see Maurin (1978) 192, n. 62.

[91] Pflaum (1948) 16–17.

[92] Gschaid (1991) 83ff., especially 86, 101–2.

v. *Career*

More precision is possible on the earlier careers of federal priests. That some had entered the equestrian order before provincial office seems clear: for example, C. Iulius Victor (no. 3) attained the rank of *praefectus fabrum* followed by the military tribunate.[93] Both he and C. Iulius Rufus were members of the Gallic nobility and their entry into the equestrian order was one way by which the upper crust of a newly conquered region could be incorporated into Roman society.[94] Only rarely, however, did those who had achieved equestrian status pursue an equestrian career further: the solitary instance is an *ignotus* (no. 32: Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXXI) who served as *procurator centenarius prov. Hadrymetinae*—evidently before his federal priesthood. On the other hand one sequence of offices found in Hither Spain, a completed municipal *cursus* followed by "adlection" as *iudex in quinque decurias*, is entirely absent in Tres Galliae.[95] Otherwise it seems clear that most incumbents held the federal priesthood after a full local career, very much as in Hither Spain.[96] In the Antonine and Severan periods this is usually resumed by the phrase *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus* vel. sim. (nos. 13–20, 24–5, 26–9: Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXX, LXIX, 31, 33),[97] a formula that appears to date from the reign of Hadrian, though Wierschowski's view that it arose at Lugdunum looks hardly demonstrable.[98] Exceptionally, a priest among the Senones gives details of his earlier *cursus* in the early third century (no. 32),[99] and the great inscription from Vieux, which the Three Gauls set up in honour of T. Sennius Sollemnis in A.D. 238, similarly records several offices of his *cursus* in addition to the umbrella formula *omnibus honoribus muneribusque functus* (no. 33).[100]

---

[93] Maurin (1978) 181–5; *id. ad ILA* 18, pp. 95, 133–4. On the post of *praefectus fabrum* and *tribunus cohortis* see further Drinkwater (1978) 848–9 with refs.

[94] Frei-Stolba (1994) 51 with n. 73 and refs. For the suggestion that both C. Iulius Rufus and C. Iulius Victor were awarded the decorative title of *praefectus fabrum* in recognition of their liberality in building the first amphitheatre at the Confluence see Maurin *ad ILA* 18, p. 134, cf. 95.

[95] Alföldy (1973) 37–9.

[96] Alföldy, *o.c.* 40–3.

[97] On the significance of the formula see Curchin (1990) 39.

[98] *Id.* (1986) 293–4. See in general Maurin (1978) 187–9.

[99] Vol. I, 2, 325, noting that the distribution of the posts between his *civitas* and the colony of Lugdunum is unclear.

[100] Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXII–LXXIII; Pflaum (1948) 7–14.

For the most part the provincial priesthood marked the completion of a man's career. The *militiae equestres* are rarely attested after the provincial priesthood but T. Sennius Sollemnis provides a virtual exception. On Pflaum's convincing interpretation no vacancy occurred to let him take up the command (*tribunus)* of a mounted detachment with the Sixth Legion, an appointment for which he had already received the appropriate half salary (*semestris*) from Tib. Claudius Paulinus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Britain; instead he looks to have served as juridical advisor (*adsedit*) with the governor's *cohors amicorum.*[101] The case nevertheless confirms that one could embark on an equestrian career following the provincial priesthood, a possibility apparently confirmed by the careers of two provincial *flamines* of Gallia Narbonensis, L. Sammius Aemilianus and Q. Solonius Severinus (below, pp. 177–8), both of whom look to have held the provincial flaminate before the *militiae equestres*. Whether C. Iulius Rufus (no. 2) was similarly given the title *praefectus fabrum* after his federal priesthood is uncertain;[102] it may not have appeared on his defective inscription at Lugdunum, so could have been awarded in recognition of his services at the Confluence (*ILTG* 217). In any event it must be remembered that at the federal centre in particular monuments were presumably set up soon after completion of the priestly year, so would not show the later career, if any. The great exception to this practice, of course, is the monument of T. Sennius Sollemnis. On the view developed below (pp. 51–2) this attests that long after his provincial priesthood he held an imperial post in the administration of the mines as *iudex arcae ferrariarum*, an appropriate office for a wealthy Gallic notable. It follows that in Tres Galliae the high priesthood marked as a rule the pinnacle of a man's career—very much, therefore, as in Hispania Citerior, though here too monuments to provincial priests were erected on completion of a priest's term, so throw little light on the subsequent career. In short the careers of the Gallic elite who attained the provincial priesthood seem to have been mostly resticted to offices at the local level. The point chimes with the relatively small number of Gallic senators, though it would appear from

[101] Pflaum (1948) 26–7, 34.

[102] So Maurin *ad ILA* 7, p. 95. This would follow if the *cursus* in *ILA* 7 is given in forward order as is evidently the case in *ILA* 18 (where the equestrian posts are held before the provincial priesthood).

two fragmentary inscriptions that the same family could produce senators as well as federal priests.[103]

vi. *The Priestly Office*

So far as is known, membership of the provincial *concilium* was restricted to the *legati* annually elected by the *civitates* to represent them at the Confluence.[104] Sooner rather than later these delegates must all have been Roman citizens since citizenship was a prerequisite for election to the high priesthood. Whether this was the case before, say, the Claudian period, when the general extension of Latin rights will have created a growing number of Roman citizens,[105] is not revealed by any evidence. The fact that two early priests of Lusitania (*AE*, 1946, 201; *AE*, 1997, 777b) and Lower Moesia (*IScM* 5, 194) respectively seem not to have been citizens raises the possibility that not all *legati* may have been privileged in the early years of the federal assembly of Tres Galliae. While some seventeen different tribes are known to have produced a high priest, it seems clear that individual *civitates* could send more than one legate to Lugdunum, as stated specifically in the great inscription from Vieux of T. Sennius Solemnis (no. 33): … *quod patria eius cum inter ce*[*ter(os)*] *legatum eum creasset* (*CIL* 13, 3162, III, lines 22–3.).[106] The point is confirmed by analogy with the earlier *koina* of Asia or Smyrna, for example, also by special seats at the games reserved for *legati* of the Three Gauls: the name of the Bituriges Cubi in particular is inscribed six times on stones from the tiers of the amphitheatre (*CIL* 13, 1667a-b).[107] The council was inter-regional in the sense that it embraced the administrative divisions of Lugdunesis, Aquitania and Belgica, though we have seen that this formal collectivity is not reflected in inscriptions until the Flavian period; until then the whole area was still thought of as

[103] Frei-Stolba (1994) 53 with nn. 81–2 and refs. *ad CIL* 13, 1682–3. Cf. Burnand (1982) 426–7 s.v. Iulii, Marii. For the name of the priest C. Iulius Taurus (no. 40), see Bérard (1992) 15.

[104] Pflaum (1948) 21; Deininger (1965) 101, 143; Vol I, 1, 134, 136–7; Vol. II, 1, 581.

[105] See Vol. III, 1, 233, n. 57.

[106] Contra Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, p. 228, taking *ceteros* to refer to the rest of the *legati* in general rather than to those of the Viducasses; but see Pflaum (1948) 21.

[107] Pflaum, *ibid.*, suggests that the Viducasses will have been represented on the *concilium* by three delegates, though for no stated reason. Not all these seats were restricted to delegates to the provincial council. Places were also reserved for (among others) invited representatives from Gallia Narbonensis (Glanici), none of whom were members of the federal *concilium* of Tres Galliae: see Vol. II, 1, 581.

a unity.[108] As the council of Gallia Comata, later of Tres Galliae, therefore, the assembly managed its own affairs while acting as a specifically Gallic assembly on behalf of the provincials. The numerous examples of its activities in this respect speak for themselves.[109]

A key task of the *concilium* was to elect a high priest at its annual meeting, usually taken to have occurred about the beginning of August.[110] Presumably the council convened at the *curia* within the sanctuary, though whether traces have been found at Lugdunum to match the inferred building at Tarraco remains to be confirmed.[111] Equally unclear is whether the appointee took office immediately or from the following 1st January, as may have been the case at Corduba—the mechanics of the annual change in personnel are nowhere recorded—but once in office, the priest presided over the annual meeting of the council and occupied himself with whatever secular business required his attention throughout his year.[112] The best known example is provided by the inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnis which shows a *legatus* of the Viducasses defending the Roman governor Claudius Paulinus against accusations.[113] If a statute similar to the Lex Narbonensis was followed exactly at the Confluence, the high priest will have been a member of the local *ordo* of the colony of Lugdunum during his year's term, much as the provincial priests Sardinia gained admission to the local *ordo* of Carales.[114] The situation at Lugdunum is different than elsewhere in that the federal sanctuary was located not toward the periphery of the town as at Tarraco, Narbo or Camulodunum but a short distance upstream in the *pagus Condatensis*, a separate district that may have enjoyed some degree of local autonomy. Even so, it would have made sense for the federal priest to be closely associated with the local authorities of Lugdunum. Epigraphical evidence may yet illuminate the picture in this respect. For the moment it may be noted that

---

[108] Vol. III, 1, 92.

[109] Vol. I, 1, 137 with n. 275 and refs. Deininger (1965) 107 observes that the latest recorded trace of the council of the Three Gauls is an honorific inscription it set up in Rome to Saloninus, the younger son of Gallienus, between 258 and 261 (*AE*, 1934, 161). Interestingly, the provincial council of Baetica set up a similar inscription to Salonina, wife of Gallienus, in the colonial forum of Corduba at about the same time (*CIL* 2^2/7, 258). See below, p. 220, n. 7.

[110] Vol. I, 1, 118.

[111] Vol. III, 3, 125–6, cf. 34.

[112] For the activities of the *concilium* see Deininger (1965) 104–7; Vol. I, 1, 137 with refs.

[113] See the summary of Deininger (1965) 145–6.; cf. Larsen (1955) 140.

[114] Vol. III, 1, 135–44.

an anonymous priest of the early third century (no. 32) appears to have served earlier in his career as *patronus* of the *pagus Condatensis* and *praefectus* of the colony of Lugdunum.

Of more importance to the present analysis is that the high priest's principal office was to perform the ceremonies of the provincial cult at the federal sanctuary in line with the prescriptions of an evolving calendar.[115] Such duties will necessarily have required his presence throughout the year, just as the provincial *flamen* of Gallia Narbonensis necessarily resided at Narbo throughout his term. An important dimension of these religious activities was to support the costs of rites and above all the games that marked the high point of the annual meeting at Lugdunum. We have seen that the record of Sextus Iulius Thermianus (no. 15) as *flamen munerarius* in his own *civitas* may have a factor in his election to federal office (above, pp. 37–8). The astonishing outlays of T. Sennius Sollemnis on four days of gladiatorial combats at an estimated cost of 332,000 sesterces have likewise been noted already. Otherwise glimpses of the activities of the high priest are occasionally afforded by the surviving inscriptions. For example, Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4) set up one dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus and a second to Mars Segomo and a deity whose name has not survived, in this case drawing on the *stips annua*. Whereas provincial resources were used at Narbo for the provision of statues and images of the emperors (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 26–7), here federal funds appear to have been funnelled into the cult of indigenous divinities along with Roman(?). An interesting question, hardly answerable from present evidence, is whether the federal priest will have been present on those occasions when the province set up a monument to a past provincial priest in his *patria*.[116] It is difficult to imagine the proceedings without participation of the council chairman, but such an occasion would plainly have required his absence from the federal centre for several days. All the inscriptions record is that the dedicator was Tres Galliae. Lastly there is the possibility raised by the inscription of Tur]onus of the Santoni or Turoni (no. 23) that one could hold the *sacerdotium* of Tres Galliae twice.

[115] Vol. II, 1, 500–1.

[116] Cf. *CIL* 13, 1049, 3162, 1463; Maurin *ad ILA* 19, p. 137. Presumably the provincial priest will not have accompanied the delegates of the *concilium* who attended the *inferiae* of Drusus and Germanicus at Mainz: Hertz (2001) 107 with refs.; Liertz (2000) 92–3; cf. Vol. III, 1, 216, n. 13.

Hirschfeld doubted this was conceivable but a parallel exists in Hither Spain in the career of L. Numisius Laetus (*AE*, 1908, 149).

vii. *Federal Officials*

It remains to draw attention to a small group of administrative officers who serviced the federal centre by Lugdunum under the titles *iudex arcae Galliarum*, *allectus arcae Galliarum*. and *inquisitor Galliarum*.[117] Extant traces of these reveal a preponderance of records from the sanctuary with only two out of eleven officials attested locally.[118] As luck would have it, their records are for the most part better preserved than the inscriptions of the high priests, seven from the precinct preserving a full or nearly complete text. All belong to the second century or later with the result that it has been suggested these officials may have been created in connection with Hadrian's reform. The likelier possibility is that they were instituted early in the Flavian period, given that their existence is plainly linked with the *stips annua*, which is first attested under Vespasian in the inscription of Q. Adginnius Martinus (no. 4: *CIL* 13, 1675, line 2; cf. *CIL* 13, 1669). Before this time there is no reason to believe that the provincial centre had any regular source of income; at least none has left any record. Whether *ad hoc* contributions similar to those imposed by imperial priests in Britain (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 31) were ever levied in Tres Galliae is unknown but the establishment of an annual, therefore set, contribution certainly looks consistent with the tight-fisted approach to financial matters of an emperor who was himself the son of a tax-collector. As such a *stips annua*, paid into the *arca Galliarum*, would have produced a reserve parallel to the *pecunia* mentioned in the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038: line 26), this could very well have been part of the administrative reform we have inferred on other grounds. Whatever the circumstances of their creation, the importance of these bureaucrats to the sanctuary is clear from the frequent memorials that the federal council erected to them in the precinct, though it is striking that other members of their family were not included in a statue group as regularly the case with federal priests (above, pp. 20–5).[119]

---

[117] For lists of officials see Maurin (1978) 198–9; Frei-Stolba (1994) 45 with nn. 42–4, cf. 39. See further Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 258–9.

[118] Excluded from this roster is one *iudex arcae ferrariarum* and two *a ferrariarum*, for which see below, pp. 51–2.

[119] Cf. *CIL* 13, 1686 (Pl. 23), 1688, 1690, 1695, 1697, 1703, 1707, 1708, 1709; Richard (1999) 386, noting that federal functionaries had the right only to an individual statue.

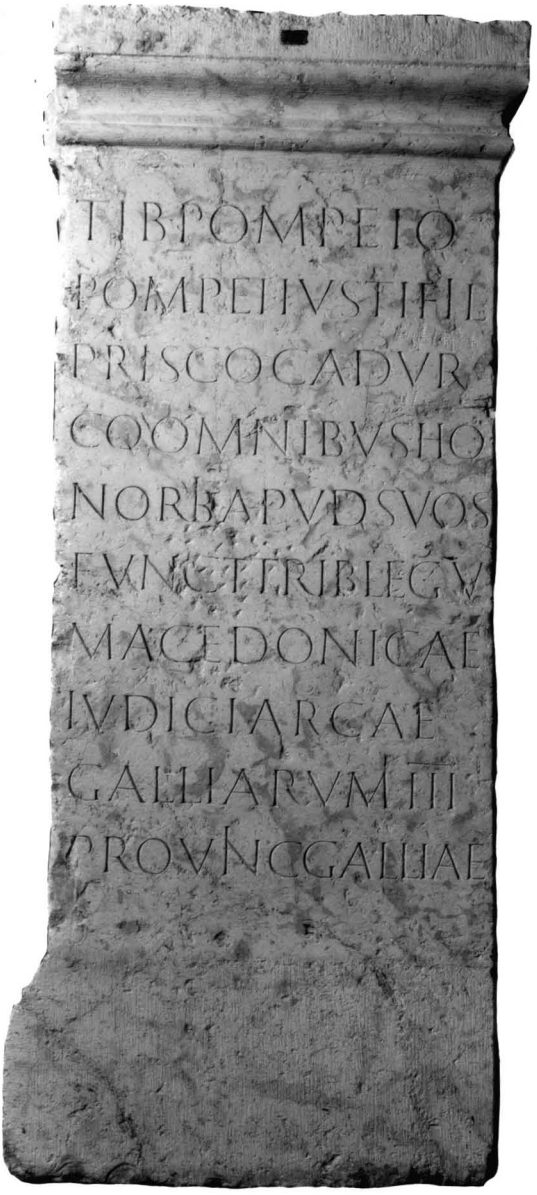


Plate 23. Inscription of Tib. Pompeius Priscus, *iudex arcae Galliarum*.

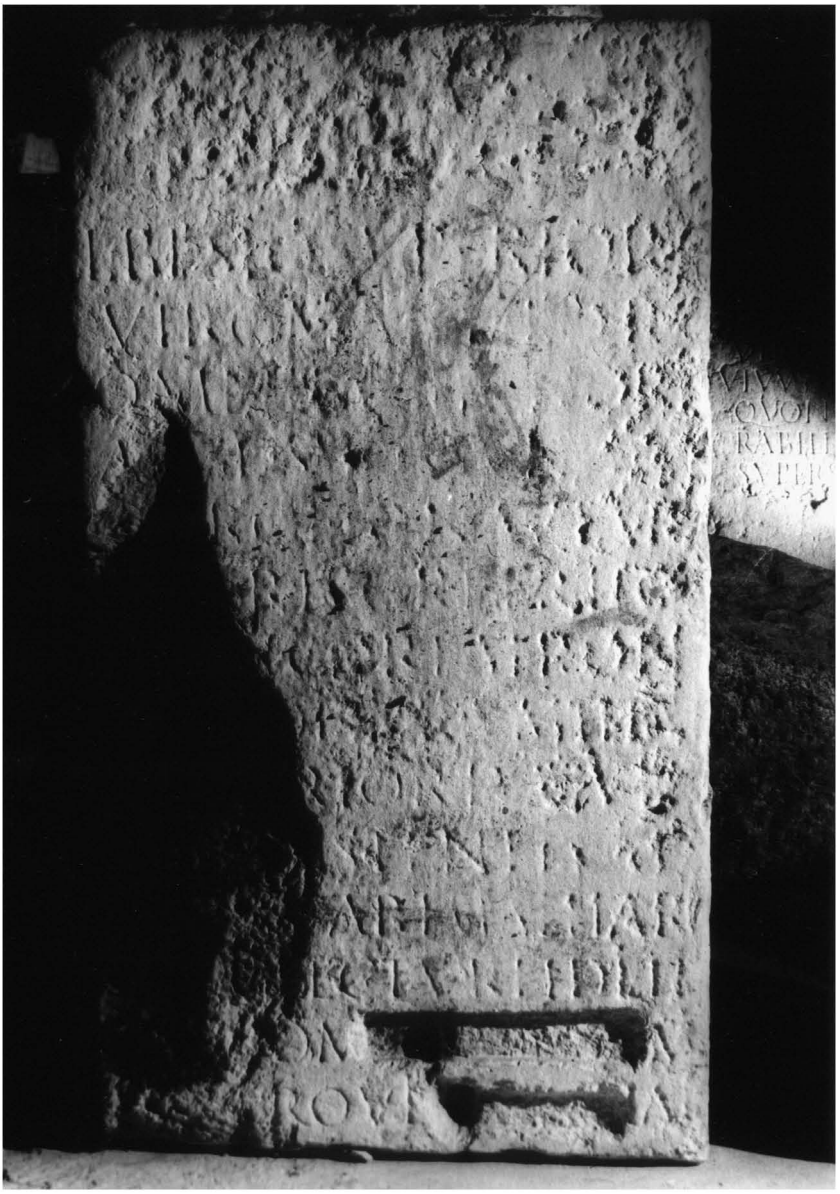


Plate 24. Inscription of L. Besius Superior Viromanduus, *allectus arcae Galliarum*.

The precise implication of their official titles is uncertain. As Hirschfeld noted, the term *iudex* in the sense of overseer of a fund is unknown in the Roman world, so may be a translation of some Gallic term, as may likewise be the case with *allectus*.[120] In any event one of the duties of the *iudex arcae Galliarum* must have been to exercise general supervision of the federal chest,[121] perhaps also to assess the amount payable annually in dues by each *civitas*. Whether he had a say in outlays that the *arca* funded is not known but he appears to have been assisted by a treasury official whom the inscriptions document as *allectus* (more probably than *allector*) *arcae Galliarum*.[122] No details are preserved of the functions of either official. Aymard argued that the *arca* was not an organ of the *concilium* but existed rather as a treasury of the collectivity represented by the council, that is to say the province: hence the name *arca Galliarum*, cf. *inquisitor Galliarum*, *tabularius Galliarum* (below, pp. 51–2).[123] If so, it must have been effectively managed by the provincial governor, an arrangement which would correspond to that reflected in the Lex Narbonensis, where the provincial governor appears to exercise control over expenditures on statues amd images of the emperor from provincial funds (lines 27–8).

More enigmatic still is the *inquisitor Galliarum* attested by six inscriptions.[124] It has been suggested variously that he determined the amount of the *stips annua*, assessed the financial resources of candidates for the high priesthood, conducted a preliminary scrutiny before the *iudex arcae Galliarum* took over proceedings, or checked complaints of the *civitates* against Roman officials prior to their consideration by the *concilium*.[125] A possibility not considered hitherto is suggested by a partly restored clause of the Lex Narbonensis requiring that the retiring priest shall prove to an auditor that his financial dealings are in line with regulations: [… *seque omnia ut hac lege cautum est de*] *ẹa re fecisse apud eum qui ra*[*tiones putabit probato* …]: lines 28–9. If a similar provision applied at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, it is possible that the function of the

[120] Hirschfeld (1904) 212–13. For further references see Pflaum (1948) 17–18; Deininger (1965) 102, n. 9; Maurin (1978) 198; Frei-Stolba (1994) 39, n. 18.

[121] *CIL* 13, 1686, 1707–8.

[122] *CIL* 13, 1688 (Pl. 24), 1709. On *allectus*, *allector* see Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, 1, p. 230; *ThLL*, Vol. 1, 1662 s.v. *allector*.

[123] Aymard (1941) 229–39; Deininger (1965) 140.

[124] *CIL* 13, 1690 (Pl. 25), 1695, 1697 (Pl. 26), 1703, 3528, *AE* (1972) 352; Frei-Stolba (1988) 196–7, noting that *inquisitores Galliarum*, like *allecti arcae Galliarum* and provincial priests were men of means.

[125] Deininger (1965) 103; cf. Hirschfeld, *ibid.*

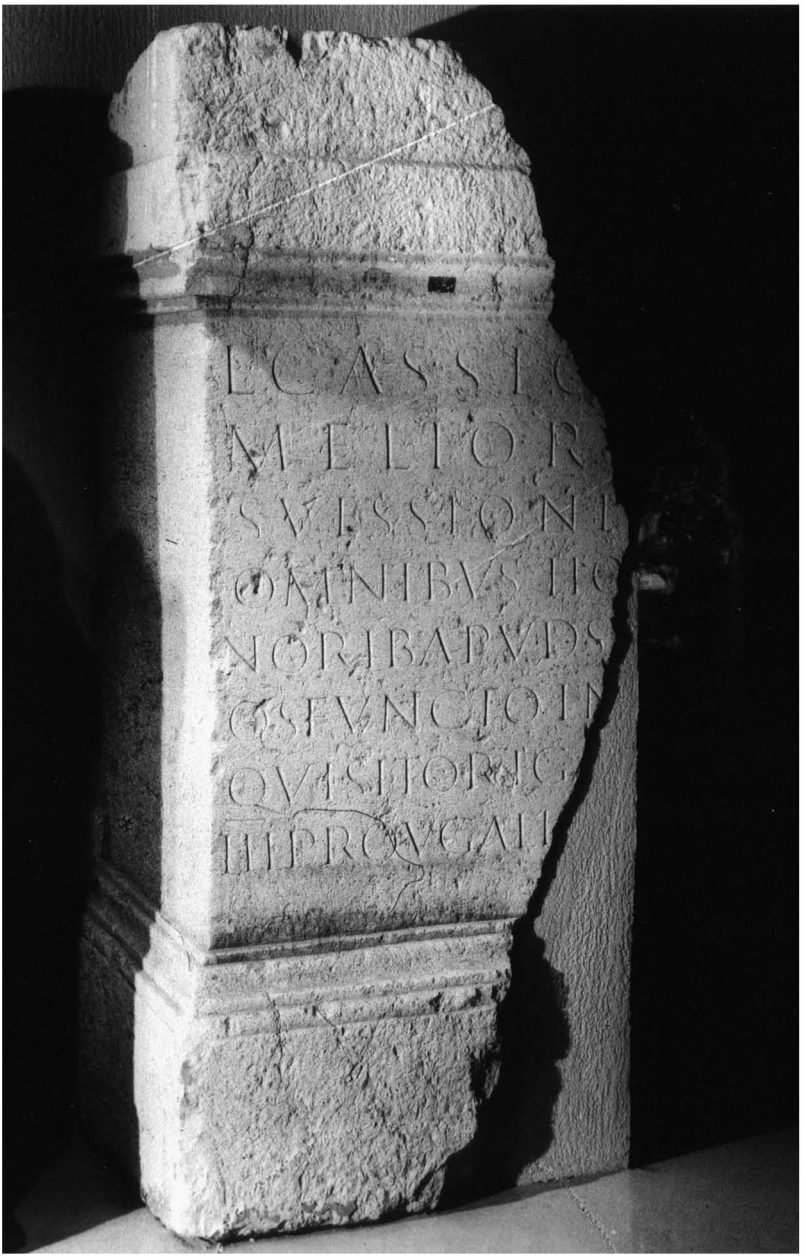


Plate 25. Inscription of L. Cassius Melior, *inquisitor Galliarum*.

inquisitor, or at least one side of his duties, was to audit and certify the accounts of the *arca Galliarum*, a task that would certainly be in keeping with the title *inquisitor*. A conjecture of R. Frei-Stolba in this connection would connect Hadrian's triple grant of *immunitas* to Q. Otacilius Pollinus, *inquisitor III Galliarum* (*AE*, 1972, 352) with the emperor's building programme at Lugdunum following his visit there in A.D. 121.[126] She suggests that in his capacity of *inquisitor* Otacilius Pollinus might have released federal moneys towards construction of the provincial temple, replacement of the Victory columns flanking the altar with pillars of Syenite, even enlargement of the amphitheatre towards the end of his reign. In point of fact the amphitheatre is thought to have been extended by C. Iulius Celsus (*CIL* 13, 1808; *ILTG* 218), who presumably supported the costs just as did C. Iulius Rufus and his cousin(?) with respect to the original structure under Tiberius (*ILTG* 217),[127] but work on the Victory columns and the temple of the Three Gauls could well have been financed from a fund that was certainly utilized for religious purposes, as one of the inscriptions of Adginnius Martinus (no. 4) confirms (*CIL* 13, 1675), also a dedication to Apollo Siannus(?) (*CIL* 13, 1669, cf. 1536). If in fact Hadrian had prevailed upon Otacilius Pollinus to loosen the federal purse strings in connection with these large-scale building projects, the role of the *inquisitor* as a sort of Gallic comptroller would be confirmed.

It has sometimes been suggested that the Three Gauls possessed mines, the revenues from which went into an account supervised by a *iudex arcae ferrariarum*. The sole evidence for this view is that the former federal priest T. Sennius Sollemnis (no. 33) is attested in this capacity in the inscription which the province set up to him in his *patria* in A.D. 238 (*CIL* 13, 3162 I, line 25):[128] as the post is recorded just above the dedication by Tres Galliae, it may have been in virtue of the office of *iudex* that the province has honoured him *ca.* 16 years after his provincial priesthood.[129] Drinkwater in particular takes Sennius to have served at

[126] Frei-Stolba (1988) 200–1. See Vol. III, 1, 184–5.

[127] Vol. I, 2, 315 with n. 44 and refs.

[128] Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, p. 500, wrongly takes the term *iudici arcae ferrar(iarum)* to refer to M. Valerius Flaccus rather than Sollemnis, as clearly indicated by the position of the title in the wording of the text.

[129] *Contra* Hirschfeld, *ibid.*: quodsi igitur tres Galliae statuam ei apud Viducasses posuerunt (I 26), id propter sacerdotium illud factum est. But see Pflaum (1948) 18. Frei-Stolba (1994) 39 with n. 18, cf. 45 n. 42, follows Maurin (1978) 198 in taking the *iudex arcae ferrariarum* to be a federal post, likewise the office of *a ferrariarum*, two traces of which are known (*CIL* 13, 1576–7: Le Puy). Cf. recently the helpful survey of Burnand

the sanctuary in the capacity of *iudex arcae ferrariarum* and suggests that the possibility of financial gain in fulfillment of its duties explains the odd acceptance of an "inferior" rank at so late a stage of his career.[130] Yet it is difficult to imagine that the post of "manager of the coffer of the iron mines" has occasioned his honorific dedication. The provincial council would hardly have chosen to erect an inscribed statue to Sennius because he had recently held at the Confluence a post of lower status than his priesthood of sixteen years or so earlier. The fact that the office of *iudex arcae ferrariarum* comes so long after the prestigious post of high priest surely confirms that it is not a council post at all but more likely connected with the imperial administration of provincial iron mines, as Mommsen and Héron de Villefosse originally supposed.[131] In that case either the provincial council has applied a federal term (*iudex arcae*) to Sennius' position or the imperial authority itself employed the Latin equivalent of a local Gallic word. Deininger notes that nothing in the title suggests a connection with the Three Gauls—the posts of *iudex arcae ferrariarum* and *a ferrariarum* both lack the reference *Galliarum* explicit in the titles *iudex*, *allectus*, and *inquisitor*—nor is there any parallel elswhere for the administration of mines by a provincial assembly. In the same way the office held by Nicasus Liberalinius Victor, *vir centenarius adsessor fer(arriarum) servus* at Mogontiacum (*CIL* 13, 11833), is entirely foreign to the character of a provincial assembly, which nowhere employed paid officials.[132] If one may judge from the verbatim reproduction of the letters from Aedinius Julianus, *praefectus praet(orio)*, to Badius Comnianus, acting governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, and from Claudius Paulinus, governor of Britain, to Sennius Sollemnis (both of these presumably supplied by Sennius from his personal archives) the erection by the province of an honorific statue so long after the priesthood must rather be related to the particular circumstances of the period *ca.* A.D. 238. The precise nature of these falls outside the scope of the present discussion.[133]

Finally, the solitary trace of a *tabularius Galliarum* clearly documents a federal archivist named Firmanus, who presumably registered income and expenditures as well as keeping the records of the council and

(1996) 19.

[130] Drinkwater (1979) 96.

[131] Pflaum (1948) 17, nn. 3–4 with refs.

[132] Deininger (1965) 104, n. 4.

[133] For the possible political background see Pflaum's excursus, *o.c.* 28ff.

treasury (*CIL* 13, 1725). The provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania, in contrast, had their own book-keeper (*CIL* 2, 3235) just as did Lusitania (*CIL* 2, 485–6: below, p. 150). As confirmed by traces elsewhere, the provincial council of Tres Galliae, like other *concilia*, also possessed slaves, who are in some cases attested as manumitted.[134]

What we have in sum, then, is incontrovertible evidence for the existence of "civil servants" at the provincial centre of the Three Gauls. Like the permanent buildings at Lugdunum or Tarraco and elsewhere, this administrative structure patently excludes the notion that a provincial council was of no fixed abode: an itinerant treasury or movable federal records are inconceivable. As Drinkwater rightly observes, there is no evidence of any career structure linking these posts, no progression from, say, *inquisitor* to *adlectus* to *iudex* and finally *sacerdos*; indeed the technical competence required and the small number of incumbents attested suggest these may not even have been annual appointees like the provincial priest.[135] It has nevertheless been supposed that the post of *inquisitor* was of lower rank than that of the officials who oversaw the finances of the sanctuary since, in contrast to the records of the *iudex* or *allectus arcae*, honorific inscriptions set up by the council to an *inquisitor* regularly omit the filiation.[136] Whatever the validity of that inference the inferred function of this officer, if correct, would certainly indicate a functionary of lower status than the *iudex* or *allectus arcae*.

In any event the background of these officials emerges with reasonable clarity. Whereas few priests had had much more than local experience in their *civitas*—an *ignotus* from the *civitas Senonum* (no. 32) is an exception—federal administrative officers had usually been engaged in business or trade in addition to pursuing a local municipal career. At least two *inquisitores* (*CIL* 13, 1695; *AE*, 1972, 352) and two *allecti* (*CIL* 13, 1688, 1709) include in their *cursus* the patronage of transport corporations, one *inquisitor* had been patron of the slave-dealers (*AE*, 1972, 352),[137] two *inquisitores* had served as *curator* (*CIL* 13, 1697; Pl. 26, 3528), while one *iudex* and one *inquisitor* had held the equestrian posts of *tribunus legionis* or *praefectus legionis* respectively (*CIL* 13, 1686, 3528). Evidently the holders of these offices were well-to-do men,

[134] Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, 1, p. 230, citing *CIL* 14, 326–7, cf. 324–6; Deininger (1965) 104, nn. 2–3, citing further *CIL* 6, 29687 (Rome).

[135] Drinkwater (1979) 96.

[136] Deininger (1965) 103 with n. 13 *ad CIL* 13, 1690, 1695, 1697, 1703.

[137] Frei-Stolba (1988) 194ff. with refs.

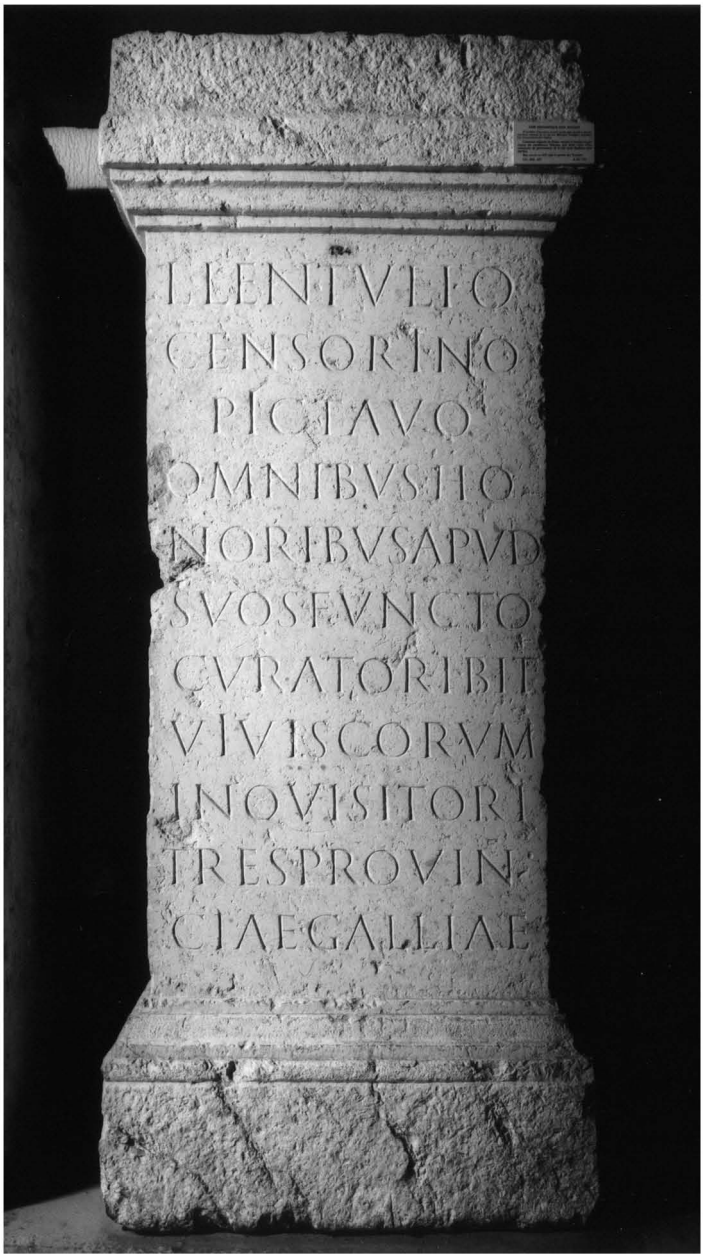


Plate 26. Inscription of L. Lentulius Censorinus, *inquisitor Galliarum*.

who originated like the provincial priests from a wide range of *civitates* without apparent distinction.[138]

viii. *Membership at the Confluence*

According to Strabo (4, 3, 2) sixty tribes were originally represented at the Confluence; Tacitus puts the number at sixty-four in A.D. 21 (*Ann.* 3, 44).[139] Maurin argues that the discrepancy in the historical sources can be explained by the circumstance that the figures refer to different geographical and political realities. On this view Strabo's figure covers the *civitates* of the Three Gauls (= Gallia Comata) less the *novem populi* of Caesarian Aquitania south of the Garonne, which were excluded. Tacitus' account in contrast comprises the totality of space occupied by the Gauls ouside Gallia Narbonensis—twenty-one *civitates* of Aquitania, twenty-nine *civitates* of Lugdunensis including the four *civitates* of the Sequani, Helvetii, Rauraci and Lingones, which were not attached to Germania Superior until after its formation under Domitian, and fourteen *civitates* of Gallia Belgica. The original sixty tribes whose names were inscribed on the altar will in that case include the peoples between the Garonne and the Rhine, though the exact initial membership of the new Aquitania as established by Augustus is variously reported, hence indeterminable. Epigraphical evidence offers no real help in the matter as a full accounting of the *civitates* who participated at the Confluence has yet to be achieved. The number of tribes recorded to have provided federal priests is about eighteen with an additional five *civitates* that on present evidence supplied federal officials but not priests, so in total some twenty-three *civitates* are so far attested. In any event we have seen that individual cantons regularly sent more than one delegate to Lugdunum (above, p. 43). That membership was based on some form of proportional representation remains, on the other hand, a possible inference yet to be confirmed by direct evidence.

---

[138] For a list of the *civitates* which produced these federal bureaucrats see Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, 1, p. 230; Deininger (1965) 104, n. 1; Maurin (1978) 198–9. To these must now be added the Helvetii as attested by the inscription of Q. Otacilius Pollinus (*AE*, 1972, 352).

[139] For discussion see Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 6–20; Larsen (1955) 141; Deininger (1965) 101 with n. 2; Maurin (1978) 187, 199–202; *id.* (1986) 111, n. 15; Bellen (1984) 386 with n. 16, 394, cf. Vol. II, 1, 500, 502; Chastagnol (1980) 189; Frei-Stolba (1988) 187 with n. 5 and refs.; *ead.* (1994) 37; cf. Vol. I, 1, 101–2. See further Richard (1991) 207–8, also in general Liertz (2000) 94–100.

By no means all the inhabitants of Tres Galliae were included at the federal sanctuary. Particularly disputed is the status of the Nine Peoples of Caesarian Aquitania, to whom Augustus had attached the Aquitanian Convenae from Narbonensis.[140] As we have seen, there is nothing to show that these participated in the federal worship at the Confluence and on Maurin's interpretation they are omitted from the variant totals given by Strabo and Tacitus (above). Evidence that their cult was rather based on a regional centre at Lugdunum Covenarum looks nevertheless flimsy.[141] In contrast there seems general agreement that the three colonies of Augst (founded between B.C. 50 and 44), Lyon and Nyon (both founded B.C. 43) were barred from participation.[142] Just as in Asia Minor Roman colonies may not have joined in the provincial cult yet had their own municipal worship,[143] so in Tres Galliae the three military colonies have all produced traces of a flourishing local cult,[144] but, on the view of C. Jullian and others, had no share in the federal cult at the Confluence.[145] In support of their exclusion Maurin points to a dedication to Elagabalus set up at the Confluence in A.D 220/221 by *cives Romani in Tribus Provinci(i)s Galli(i)s consistentes* (*ILTG* 221). He convincingly takes the phrase to mean Roman citizens from Italy and other provinces who have settled in the Three Gauls, a sense that would then explain a reference to Roman citizens after the general extension of Roman citizenship in A.D. 212, and sees here the same distinction between Roman citizens and aliens that Augustus had made in the east.[146] As we have seen, however, there is no firm evidence in the west for the cult of Roma and Divus Julius as prescribed for Roman citizens in the east, where the distinction between the two groups seems in practice to have been short-lived,[147] nor do we have any indication of the form of cult that might have been paid by this *conventus* of Roman citizens at Lugdunum. Like that of the Gallic *civitates*, their worship may well have centred on Roma and Augustus as frequently the case

[140] Maurin (1978) 200 with refs.; (1986) 117; Richard (1991) 207; Tranoy-Ayala (1994) 182, n. 83.

[141] Vol. III, 1, 24–31, 33–7.

[142] Maurin (1978) 201; Frei-Stolba (1988) 187ff.; *ead.* (1994) 37 with n. 9. *Contra* Deininger (1965) 141, taking all centres to have been represented whatever their legal status.

[143] Frei-Stolba (1988) 191 with n. 23 and refs.

[144] Gysler-Bielman (1994) 98–9. For local cult at Nyon and Augst see Liertz (1998) 27–37.

[145] Frei-Stolba (1988) 187 with n. 6 and refs.

[146] Maurin (1986) 119; cf. Vol. III, 1, 229, 232–4.

[147] Vol. I, 1, 130 with nn. 233–4; Frei-Stolba (1988) 191 with n. 22; Vol. III, 1, 230.

in Roman colonies.[148] That one should see in this text a reflection under Elagabalus of the same regulation as that Augustus introduced two and a half centuries earlier in the east looks improbable therefore. The inscription nevertheless confirms that this interprovincial group of immigrant Roman citizens had their own association, separate from the federal organization, and to this extent supports the possibility that the descendants of the Roman settlers at the three original colonies may still have been excluded in the early third century from the cult paid by the Three Gauls. If such is the case, the situation plainly differs from that in Hispania Citerior, where the provincial cult was instigated from below and the colony of Tarraco in particular was involved from the start.[149]

A further text of interest in this conection is an inscription from the territory of Valentia in Gallia Narbonensis attesting an M. Bucc[…, who served as a federal priest as well as local *flamen* at Lugdunum (*AE*, 1979, 403).[150] The attribution of this individual to Lugdunum had been doubted but the combination of his tribe, restored though it is in part, with the find-spot of the inscription at what was to all appearances an enclave of settlers from Lugdunum looks to settle the matter beyond further debate. One possibility to have been suggested is that from the close of the second century the original Roman colony of Lugdunum was placed on the same footing as the Gallic *civitates* and began to send representatives to what had begun as an exclusivly Gallic gathering,[151] as stressed by the literary sources and self-evident from the ethnic qualification rather than the Roman tribe in the records of federal priests. Whether the distinctiveness of immigrant Roman citizens implicit in *ILTG* 221 precludes or at least undermines this view is debatable. In any event a likelier explanation of *AE* (1979) 403 is that as a Romanized Gaul, not a descendant of Roman settlers, M. Bucc[… will have been one of the native in-dwellers (*incolae)* who made up the population of Lugdunum and that he was elected federal *sacerdos* in virtue of his probable membership in the *civitas Segusiavorum* rather than as a representative of the colony.[152] As such, he would in that case have

[148] Full discussion in Vol. III, 1, 269ff., especially 234–6.

[149] Vol. III, 1, 213–4; Deininger (1965) 125, noting that in Hispania citerior *legati* were chosen from communities of widely differing legal status.

[150] See Fishwick, Priesthood (1996) 413–19.

[151] Maurin (1986) 123–4; Frei-Stolba (1988) 192; Gysler–Bielman (1994) 102, n. 18.

[152] On *incolae* see Marquardt (1881) 1, 135–6. For the place of *incolae* within Roman colonies see Chastagnol (1996); *id.* (1990); Rodríguez, *Incolae* (1978). On similar groups

been the first Romanized Gaul at Lugdunum to attain the priesthood of Tres Galliae. In any event the question of whether the original Roman settlers of Lugdunum or their descendants participated at some stage in the federal cult remains an unresolved issue. At the present time the signs are against it.

Lastly, there is the problem of whether the federal organization centred at Lugdunum encompassed the military territories that became Germania Inferior and Germania Superior under Domitian *ca.* 90 B.C.[153] In the regions along the Rhine the altar established at Oppidum Ubiorum, probably towards the close of the last century B.C., has all the appearance of a regional cult centre, perhaps the intended nub of a future Roman Germany or at least a focus of local loyalties.[154] What became of this *ara Ubiorum* after the defeat of Varus, more particularly whether the altar served henceforth as the centre of a local cult, is not revealed by our sources, though a civic cult certainly existed at Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne), also at Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten).[155] Maurin is surely right, however, that a provincial cult was never established in the later provinces of Lower and Upper Germany. In Germania Inferior, where the Tungri remained within Gallia Belgica (*AE*, 1962, 183), the Ubii look never to have admitted to the federal assembly; the status of other peoples remains unclear for the moment though there is nothing to suggest their membership at the Confluence. In Germania Superior, to which were attached the territories of the Sequani, Helvetii, Lingones and Rauraci in the eastern part of Tres Galliae,[156] the problem of whether the Helvetii were still included in the number of *civitates* who assembled at Lugdunum has now been solved by the inscription of Q. Otacilius Pollinus (*AE*, 1972, 352). In producing an *inquisitor III Galliarum* who was active under Hadrian,[157] the Helvetii are clearly in the same category as the Sequani, who supplied both a provincial priest under Vespasian (no. 4) and an *inquisitor Galliarum* under Hadrian or later (*CIL* 13, 1695). The inscription of Otacilius Pollinus thus confirms the continued attachment of the Helvetii to the federal cult at Lugdunum despite their inclusion in the new province

in Spain see Lomas (1987–88); Curchin (1990) 25, 74.

[153] Maurin (1978) 201; *id.* (1986) 111.

[154] Vol. I, 1, 137–9; Vol. III, 1, 20–1.

[155] Liertz (1998) 63–76, noting that no centre for a provincial cult existed in Germania Inferior.

[156] Liertz (1998) 22–3, 33–53.

[157] Frei-Stolba (1988) 194ff.

of Upper Germany.[158] Broadly speaking, then, it would appear that the peoples of the territory which became the province of Upper Germany retained their affiliation to the world of Tres Galliae.

ix. *Chronology of the Federal Priesthood*

Lack of data in most of the inscriptions themselves and the occasional difficulty in distinguishing between individuals of the same name rule out any possibility of a strict sequence of priesthoods.[159] Certain criteria can nevertheless be identified as the evolving title of the provincial priest clearly reflects the historical development of the federal worship.[160] The first stage, which lasted from Augustus down to about the reign of Hadrian, saw the cult directed to Roma and Augustus in direct line with Octavian's instructions in this regard concerning temples (Suet., *Aug.* 52); the title is regularly *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* … originally in combination with a reference to the altar *ad confluentem*. Upon this outline can be superimposed a reform under Vespasian, presumably at an early point of his reign, not that this involved any modification in the nature of the worship. Official inscriptions now refer to Tres Galliae, and the formula *ad / inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani* instead of *ad confluentem* becomes the preferred version whenever the rivers are mentioned in the priestly titulature.[161] In contrast the inclusion of deceased emperors alongside the living within the federal worship, a step which first appears in connection with the federal altar, seems to have taken place early under Hadrian. Construction of the temple of the Three Gauls looks to date from later in the reign, while the epigraphic stereotype

[158] On the abundant evidence for civic cult at Aventicum, raised to the rank of *colonia* by Vespasian, see Liertz (1998) 33–48.

[159] In particular, Q. Licinius Ultor (no. 10) is the son of [Q]. Licinius Tauricus, whereas [Q]. Licinius Tauricus (no. 17) is the son of Q. Licin[i … . It is not immediately clear whether no. 17 is the father of no. 10 or the son of no. 10, in which case grandfather and grandson would have the same name, Q. Licinius Tauricus; cf. nos. 6 and 8: C. Pompeius Sanctus. However, since Q. Licinius Ultor (no. 10) is *sacerdos apud aram*, he apparently served before construction of the provincial temple under Hadrian, in which case his father Q. Licinius Tauricus is presumably datable to an earlier period, though his son served at the early age of 22 years. On the other hand the formula *apud suos publicis honoribus functus* appears to date the priesthood of Q. Licinius Tauricus (no. 17) to the reign of Hadrian or later. As a result, no. 17 is provisionally taken to be the son of no. 10 rather than the father, though new evidence could require revision of this assumption.

[160] Vol. I, 2, 362–6; Frei-Stolba (1994) 37–9.

[161] Nos. 4, 14, 15, 20 (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVb), 23, 27, 28 (Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXa, LXIXb).

omnibus honoribus apud suos functus or variant appears also to be Hadrianic in origin, in which case it provides a further *terminus post* about the same period.[162]

A major change occurs lastly under the Severi. Inscriptions now refer to the cult *ad aram Caess. nn.* under the joint rule of Severus and Caracalla (A.D. 198–210) or *ad aram Caes. n.* under Caracalla and his successors,[163] though the nearby presence of the temple of Roma and the Augusti continued to be registered throughout. Some form of this latest version of the priestly titulature is presumably to be restored in the very latest title we have, that of T. Sennius Solemnis (no. 33),[164] though under the triple rule (A.D. 210–11) we have a single reference to the temple of the *Auggg.* (no. 31) in a text that strikingly omits to mention the altar of the Caesars. To judge from surviving examples, inclusion of *Tres Provinciae Galliae* in the priestly title is restricted to the Severan era. Otherwise some inscriptions are undatable by virtue of their lacking any of the above criteria, while others can conversely be assigned to a particular year by the internal evidence of consulships. In the following table the dates of priesthoods are for the most part approximate with tenures of roughly the same era listed alphabetically by name of the *civitas*. The list is constructed with the above clues to chronology in mind but does not aspire to give an absolute order of *sacerdotes* as these belong in several cases to clusters datable to roughly the same period.

x. *Priests of Tres Galliae*

The details of priesthoods given in this and subsequent lists are limited by the partial data preserved in sources that are mostly fragmentary and defective.

1. C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus Aeduus
Origin: Aedui (Lugdunensis)
Title: *sacerdos*
Date: 12 B.C.
References: Livy, *Per.* 139

---

[162] Vol. I, 2, 308–16; Wierschowski (1986) 289ff.

[163] For the probable beginning of the cult *ad aram* in A.D. 198 see the detailed discussion in Vol. I, 2, 332–3, 348–9; Vol. III, 1, 201, 203–4, noting that time would have been too short for a single priest to have served the cult *ad aram Caes. n.* in 197.

[164] Vol. I, 2, 361–6; Vol. III, 1, 202.

2. C. Iulius C. Iuli C[a]tuaneuni *f.*/ C. f. Rufus
Origin: Santones (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: (A) Mediolanum Santonum; (B) Confluence
Title: (A) *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad confluentem*; (B) *sacerdos Rom. et Aug.*
Imperial Career: *praefectus fabrum*
Date: before A.D. 18–19
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 1036; *ILA* 7; (B) *ILTG* 217

3. C. Iulius Congonnetodubni *f.* Volt. Victor
Origin: Santones (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Mediolanum Santonum
Title: *sacerd. Romae et Augusti ad confluentem*
Imperial Career: *praefectus fabrum*, *tribunus militum cohort.* [*I Belg*?]*arum*
Date: Tiberius
References: *CIL* 13, 1042–5; *ILA* 18

4. Q. Adginnius Urbici *fil.* Martinus Seq.
Origin: Sequani (Belgica)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: (A) *sacerdos Romae et Aug. ad aram ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani*; (B) *sacerdos Romae et Aug.*
Municipal Career: *flamen*, *IIvir*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 74
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 1674; *ILS* 7013; (B) *CIL* 13, 1675; *ILS* 4537

5. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: A.D. 75?
References: *CIL* 13, 1713

6. C. Pompeius Sanctus, M. Pompei Libonis *pater*, C. Pompei Sancti *avus*
Origin: Petrucorii (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: (A) Confluence; (B) Périgueux
Title: (A) *sacerdos*; (B) *sacerdos arensis*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 1704 (Pl. 27); (B) *CIL* 13, 939; *ILS* 4638

7. M. Pompeius C. Pompei Sancti *f.* Quir. Libo
Origin: Petrucorii (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: (A) Confluence; (B) Périgueux
Title: (A) *sacerdos*; (B) *sacerdos arensis*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 1704 (Pl. 27); (B) *CIL* 13, 939; *ILS* 4638

8. C. Pompeius M. Pompei Libonis *f.* Quirina Sanctus
Origin: Petrucorii (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: *CIL* 13, 1704 (Pl. 27)

9. Sext. Pompon. Paternus, L. Pompon. Quir. Paterni *pater*
Origin: Petrucorii (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Périgueux
Title: *sacerd. arens.*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: *CIL* 13, 11042 (Pl. 28); *ILS* 9278

10. Q. Licinius Ultor Licini Taurici *f.* Lemovicis
Origin: Lemovices (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos apud aram*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: *CIL* 13, 1699, 1700; *AE* (1980) 635a

11. Ignotus
Origin: Bituriges Cubi (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Argenton-sur-Creuse
Title: *sacerd. ar[ensis/ae*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: *AE* (1973) 343

12.]na […]
Origin: Coriosolites (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Corseul
Title: *sacerdos … inter confluent*]*es Araris et* [*Rhodani*
Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
References: *CIL* 13, 3144

13. [M.] Lucterius Lucterii Seneciani *f.* Leo Cadurcus
Origin: Cadurci (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: (A) Cahors; (B) Confluence
Title: (A) *sacerd. arae Aug. inter confluent. Arar. et Rhodani*; (B) *vacat*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus in patria* / [*ap*]*ud suos functus*
Date: Hadrian (?)
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 1541; *ILS* 7041; (B) *ILTG* 223 (Pl. 29)

14. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sace*]*rdos arae inte*[*r confluentes Arar*]*is et Rhodani*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus apud su*]*os funct*[*us*
Date: Hadrian (?)
References: *CIL* 13, 1719

15. Sextus Iulius Thermianus Senonius
Origin: Senones (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: (A) Sens; (B) Confluence; (C) Confluence
Title: (A) *sacerdos arae inter confluent. Arar. et Rhodani*; (B) *idem*; (C) *idem*
Municipal Career: *flamen Aug. munerarius, omnib. honoribus apud suos functus*
Date: Hadrian (?)
References: (A) *CIL* 13, 2940g (Pl. 22); *ILS* 7050; (B) *CIL* 13, 1676; (C) *AE* (1992) 1240 (Pl. 21)

16. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor.*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honori*]*bus in colonia sua perfunctus*
Date: Hadrian
References: *CIL* 13, 1718

17. [Q]. Licinius Tauricus Q. Licin[i … f.
Origin: Lemovices (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Municipal Career: *apud suos publi*]*cis honoribus fun*[*ctus*
Date: Hadrian-Antoninus Pius
References: *CIL* 13, 1698; *AE* (1980) 635b-c?

18. T. Belgis[ius?
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos* [*ad aram / templum*?
Municipal Career: *omnibus*] *honorib*. [*apud suos functus*]
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1687; *AE* (1983) 694

19. C. Iulius Ma[…] Carnut.
Origin: Carnutes (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sa*[*cerd. ad aram / templum R*]*omae et Au*[*gusti/orum*
Municipal Career: *o*]*mnibus hon*[*orib. apud*] *suos functus*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1694

20. Ignotus Aed[uus]
Origin: Aedui (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos ad templ. Rom. et Aug. ad confluent. Araris et Rhodani*
Municipal Career: *summis* [*honoribus*] *apud suos functus*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1714; *ILS* 7014

21. C. Servilius Martianus Arvernus C. Servilii Domiti *f.*
Origin: Arverni (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos ad templum Romae et Augustorum*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1706; *ILS* 7015

22. Ignotus
Origin: Santones (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Mediolanum Santonum
Title: *sacerdos ad templu?*]*m Romae et Aug.*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1049; *ILA* 19

23.] Vul[… Tur]onus/ San]tonus
Origin: Santones / Turoni (Aquitania / Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerd. ad te*]*mpl. Rom.* [*et Aug. ad conf*]*luentes* [*Araris et Rhod.*] *II*
Imperial Career: *praef.* [*nautarum Rhodani?*]*corum*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1716

24. Ignotus
Origin: Arverni (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Clermont
Title: *vacat*
Municipal Career: ?*h*]*onorib*[*us omnibus in*] *patria su*[*a functus*
Date: Hadrian-Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 1463

25. C. Licinius Pompti[n]a Latini *fil.* Cam[p]anus Aeduus
Origin: Aedui (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Villards-d'Héria
Title: *sacerd. III provin*[*c*]*iarum Galliar.*
Municipal Career: [*offi*]*cis et hono*[*rib*]*us omnibus* [*dome*]*sticis fu*[*nc*]*tus*
Date: Severi
References: *CIL* 13, 5353; *AE* (1965) 341; (1967) 332

26.]M. Bucc[…] Galer[ia
Origin: Segusiavi? (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Valentia
Title: [*sacerdos ad aram*] *Caes. n. Tr*[*ium Provinciarum*] *Galliaru*[*m*
Municipal Career: *omnib.* [*honoribus apud suos*] *funct*[*us, Luguduni flami*]*nis Divo*[*rum eodemq. tempo*]*re sacer*[*dos …*
Date: A.D. 212–17(?)
References: *AE* (1952) 23; (1979) 403; Vol. I, 2, 323–4; *REA* 98 (1996) 413ff.

27. L. Osidius […] Quieti *f.* Nervius
Origin: Nervii (Belgica)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sa*[*cerdos*] *ad aram Caes. n.* [*apud tem*]*plum Romae et [August.*? *in*]*ter confluen*[*tes Araris*] *et Rhoda*[*ni*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honori*[*bus apud*] *suos funct.*
Date: A.D. 212–17(?)
References: *CIL* 13, 1702; *ILS* 7016; Vol. I, 2, 323

28.]us Taurus … *filius*
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerd*]*os ad* [*aram Caess. nn. apud templ. Rom.*] *et Augg.* [*inter confluen*]*tes Arar. et* [*Rhod.*]
Municipal Career: *om*]*nibus* [*honoribus municipa*]*libus* [*apud suos functus*
Date: A.D. 198–210
References: *CIL* 13, 1710; Vol. I, 2, 321–2

29. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sa*]*cerdos apud ar*[*am*] *Cae*[*sar*]*um* [*a*]*d templum Rom*[*ae e*]*t Augustoru*[*m Trium P*]*rovinc. G*[*alliarum*?
Municipal Career: *omn*]*ib. hono*[*ribus ap*]*ud suos fun*[*ctus*
Date: A.D 198–211
References: *CIL* 13, 11174; Vol. I, 2, 320–1

30. C. Ulatt[ius Ulatti] Prisci *fi*[*lius*
Origin: Segusiavi (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdo*[*s ad aram*] *Caess. n*[*n. apud templ.*] *Romae* [*et Aug*? *inter*] *conflu*[*entes Araris*] *et Rhod*[*ani*
Date: A.D. 198–210
References: *CIL* 13, 1712; Vol. I, 2, 318–20

31. C. Catul[l]ius Decimi[n]us […]tuti Catullin[i] *fil.* Tricassin.
Origin: Tricasses (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluent
Title: *sac*[*e*]*rd. ad templ. Rom.* [*et*] *Auggg… III prov.* [*G*]*all.*
Municipal Career: *o*[*m*]*nib. honorib. ap*[*u*]*d suos functus*
Date: A.D. 210–11
References: *CIL* 13, 1691a + b; Vol. I, 2, 322–3

32. Ignotus
Origin: Senones (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos ad aram Caes. n.* [*apud templum Romae et Aug.*?
Municipal Career: *patr*[*onus pagi Cond*]*ate*, *praef. coloniae* (Lugdunum?); *actor public.*, *IIvir ab aerario*, *IIvir a iure dicundo*, *flamen Augustalis* (Senones)
Imperial Career: *procurator centenarius prov. Hadrymetinae*
Date: A.D. 218–35(?)
References: *CIL* 13, 1684a, cf. b = *ILS* 1441; Vol. I, 2, 324–5.

33. T. Sennius Sollemnis Sollemnini *f.*
Origin: Viducasses (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Vieux
Title: *sacerdo*[*s*] [*ad aram Caes. n. III Prov. Gall.*?]
Municipal Career: *IIvir sine sorte quater*, *aug.*, [*o*]*mnib. honorib. mun*[*eribusq.*] *VII* [*functus*, *flamen perpetu*?]*us in* [*s*]*ua c*[*i*]*vitate*
Imperial Career: *(trib. semestris leg. VI), iudex arcae ferrar(iarium)*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 220
References: *CIL* 13, 3162; *ILTG* 341; Vol. I, 2, 361ff.

34. Ignotus
Origin: Arverni (Aquitania)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sacerdos* [*ad aram*?
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1715

35. Ignotus
Origin: Veliocasses (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: [*sac.*?] *ad aram* C[*aes. n.*?
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1717

36. Ti. Eppius Bellicus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sa*[*cerdos?*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1692, cf. 1678

37. T. Iulius […] Carn.
Origin: Carnutes (Lugdunensis)
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *qui sace*[*rdotium ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani annos … habens consecutus est*?]
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1672

38. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *sa*]*cerdos*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1696

39. …] Lentinus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1696

40. C.] Iul. Taurus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1682

41. Ti. Claudius Genialis
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1677

42. L. Faenius Rufus
Find-Spot: Confluence
Title: *vacat*
Date: undated
References: *CIL* 13, 1776

Plate 27. Inscription of C. Pompeius Sanctus.

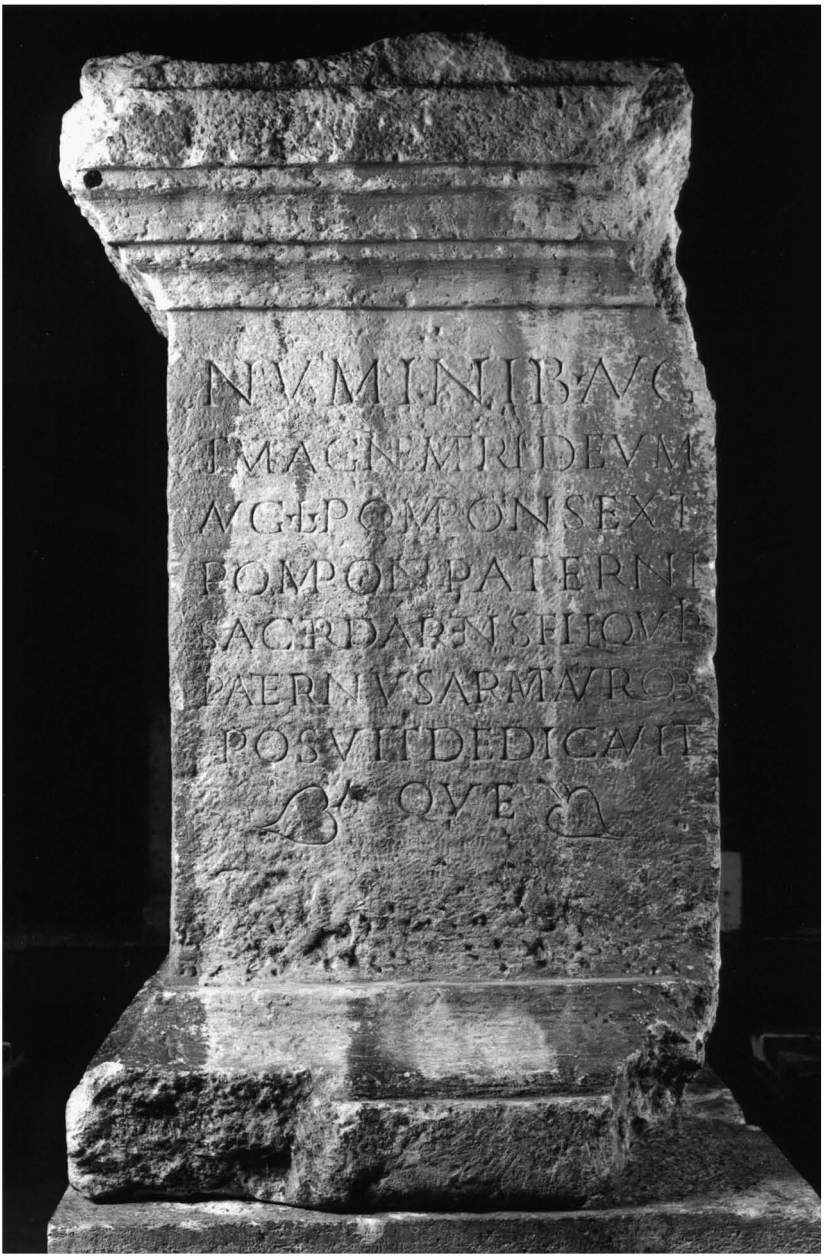


Plate 28. Taurobolic altar dedicated by L. Pomponius Paternus, son of Sextus Pomponius Paternus.

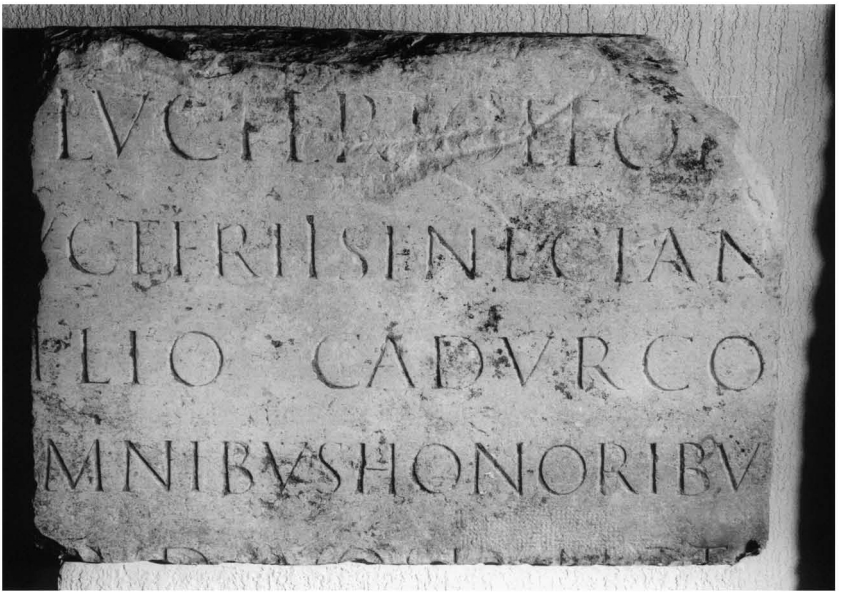


Plate 29. Inscription of [M.] Lucterius Leo.

CHAPTER THREE

HISPANIA CITERIOR

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

As in Tres Galliae, literary references to priests of Hispania Citerior are extremely sparse, no more than a solitary mention of Voconius Romanus in the Younger Pliny (no. 8).[1] The epigraphical testimony in contrast preserves the names, origin, descent and *cursus* of some seventy-six priests who served in the period from *ca.* A.D. 70 down to the later second century—approximately two-thirds of the grand total of annual incumbents, therefore—and to these can be added traces of eleven or so provincial priestesses.[2] All in all, this is by far the richest haul of incumbents to be yielded by any province of the Latin west. A further distinctive feature is that the greater part of these records consists of the inscribed statue bases which the *concilium provinciae* set up within the provincial centre at Tarraco on completion of a priest's term, though similar monuments were occasionally erected here by a man's *patria* or by private individuals.[3] Elsewhere one finds memorials left by the local community, private individuals, or the priest himself, while several inscriptions include the names of known priests without mention of their provincial office. By and large, however, the bulk of the surviving evidence comes from Tarraco, the leading city of the *conventus Tarraconensis* and the capital of the province, with only eight priests and two priestesses known solely from other centres[4] and perhaps five other priests attested locally as well as at Tarraco.[5] This contrasts sharply with

[1] For a list of priests and priestesses see below, pp. 104–25.

[2] For a summary see Alföldy (1991) 80–2; *id.* (2000) 17 with n. 16. The present overview draws heavily on the fundamental analysis of Alföldy (1973), which requires only minor adjustments and additions in the light of subsequent discoveries and research. The principal change is that the priesthoods are now tabled in approximate order of succession. So where lists of inscriptions document a particular point, the numerical sequence may point to chronological development, if any. In addition it is now possible to compare the picture in Hispania citerior with that in other provinces.

[3] Alföldy (1973) 1–4; *id.*, *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 619–20.

[4] Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 31, 37, 38, 73; 77, 80.

[5] Nos. 15, 21, 56, 66, 67.

the picture in Tres Galliae, where we have seen that almost a third of the epigraphic remains originate from the *civitates* that participated at the Confluence.

ii. *Honorific Statues*

The great majority of statues, whether erected by the province or otherwise, were set up on completion of the priest's term, as evidenced by mention of the provincial flaminate in last place within the *cursus*. There is one text, set up at the provincial sanctuary by the priest's own community *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (no. 19), in which the priest is termed *designatus*—evidently because he did not live to take up his appointment—while a local inscription from Asturica celebrates a *flamen des(ignatus) p. H. c.* and his wife, so again before he took up office (no. 31).[6] Conversely, while a priest could be honoured locally during or on completion of his term, a statue set up privately on the municipal forum at Tarraco honours a *flamen* several years after his office (no. 1), while another is honoured at Asturica apparently after holding subsequent office (no. 6). No doubt high priests were also honoured by a funerary inscription as was C. Iulius Victor at Saintes (no. 3: *ILA* 18), though only one example has survived in Hispania citerior (no. 9). These instances apart, what is immediately striking is that most of the inscribed bases at Tarraco are broadly consistent with the clause of the Lex Narbonensis regulating the erection of a statue in honour of a provincial priest on satisfactory completion of his term: *Si placu*|*erit ius sta*]*tuae ponendae nomenque suum patrisque et unde sit et quo anno fla*[*men fuerit inscribendi permitti, ei* | *Narbo*]*ni intra fines eius templi statuae ponendae ius esto (CIL* 12, 6038: lines 11–13). If similar regulations were in force at Tarraco, the matter will have been put before the provincial council by his successor, who no doubt oversaw arrangements for the statue and its inscribed base. As at Lugdunum, there is no mention of the costs. Whether these were supported by the honoree himself as implied by the (partly restored) wording of the Lex Narbonensis, explicitly stated at Corduba, and conjecturally the case at the Confluence must remain uncertain; at first sight the province (*p. H. c.*) appears as donor at Tarraco. It might be noted in this connection that a recently recovered inscription (no. 11),

[6] For *designatus* in the sense of appointed to office but not yet installed see *OLD* 525 s.v. On the use of the term see Deininger (1965) 150 with n. 4 and refs.; Alföldy (1973) 44; Curchin (1990) 29.

apparently from the arch over one of the entrances to the amphitheatre at Tarraco,[7] shows that the provincial *flamen* financed construction just as the federal priest C. Iulius Rufus and his cousin(?) supported costs at the amphitheatre of Lugdunum.[8] Evidently *flamines* were rich men, so perfectly capable of paying for their own statues. On the other hand communities or a priest's immediate family, who were also allowed to erect honorific statues within the sanctuary at Tarraco, will certainly have footed the bill themselves just as did the *civitates* who erected statues at the Confluence.

Outside the provincial sanctuary inscriptions honouring high priests were placed in locations in keeping with the prestige of the honoree: the forum, a public building, a cemetery. At the provincial centre in contrast statues of provincial *flamines* stood at a special location within the enclosure.[9] This looks clear from the mid-second-century inscription of C. Valerius Arabinus, who in recognition of his services as provincial archivist was by unanimous decision of council given a statue that to enhance his distinction was placed among the statues of past priests (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVIIb).[10] The point is supported by the corresponding provision in the Lex Narbonensis, also by the uniform material and proportions of the statue bases themselves. On the convincing view of G. Alföldy this so-called *Repräsentationsplatz* was situated on the middle terrace, where in fact the inscription was found explicitly attesting a set place for the statues of *viri flaminales*.[11] Strictly speaking, this zone is immediately below the temple *temenos*, whereas by the Narbonese law a priestly statue was to be placed *intra fines eius templi* (line 13, cf. 11). The area can reasonably be called a *forum* even though the three inscriptions that attest the word directly in this connection (*RIT* 349; Pl. 30, 353–4) have been thought to refer rather to the municipal forum in the lower city,[12] whence they transferred at some stage (in the Middle Ages?) to the sanctuary.

---

[7] Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 101, 103–4; Dupré (1995) 363–5 with fig. 7; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 99.

[8] Vol. I, 133; Vol. III, 1, 92–3.

[9] *Contra* Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 115–17. For a reply see Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 172–3.

[10] *statuam inter flaminales viros positam exornand⟨a⟩m …* (*RIT* 333). On the sense of *exornandam* see *OLD* 646 s.v., 3.

[11] Alföldy (1973) 4–10; *id.*, *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 603, 618; (1979) 186–7, 213ff.; Jiménez (1998) 14.

[12] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 135. G. Alföldy kindly writes that in his opinion the *forum* can only be the plaza on the middle terrace of the provincial centre.

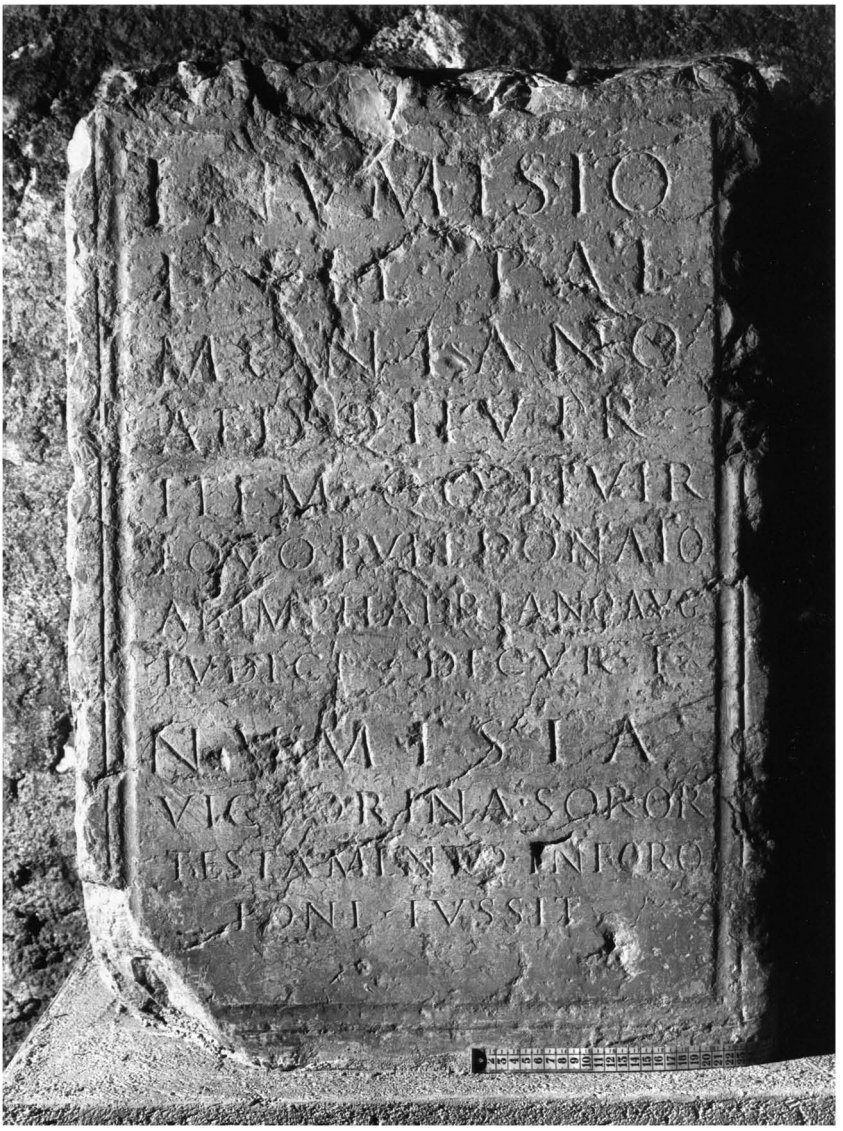


Plate 30. Inscription of L. Numisius Montanus.

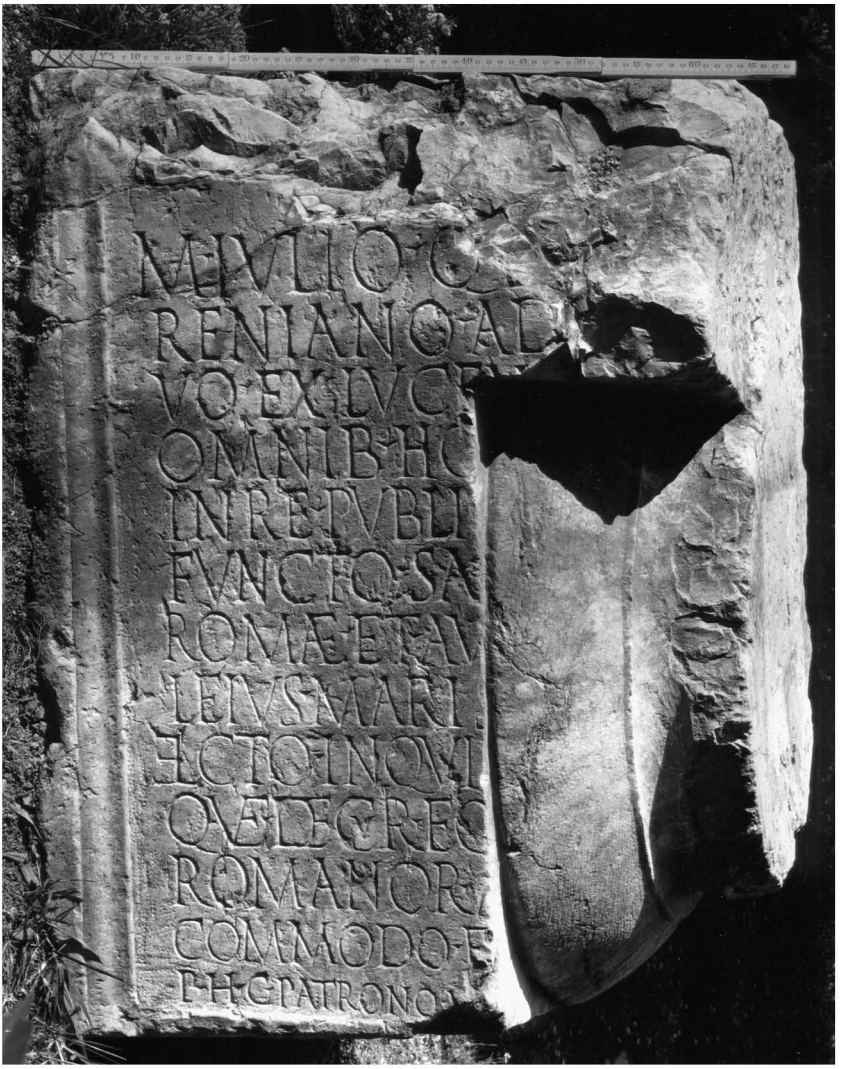


Plate 31. Inscription of M. Iulius Serenianus Adoptivus.

Plate 32. Inscription of L. Numisius Montanus.

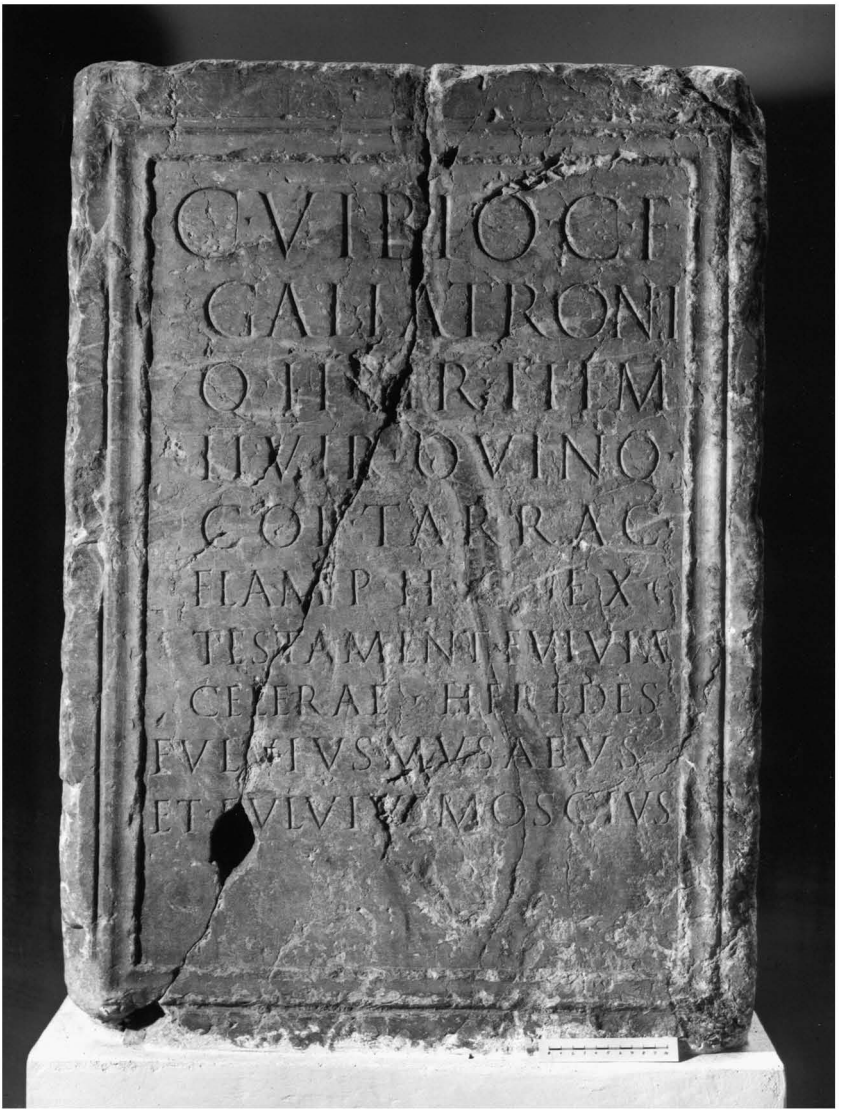


Plate 33. Inscription of C. Vibius Latro.

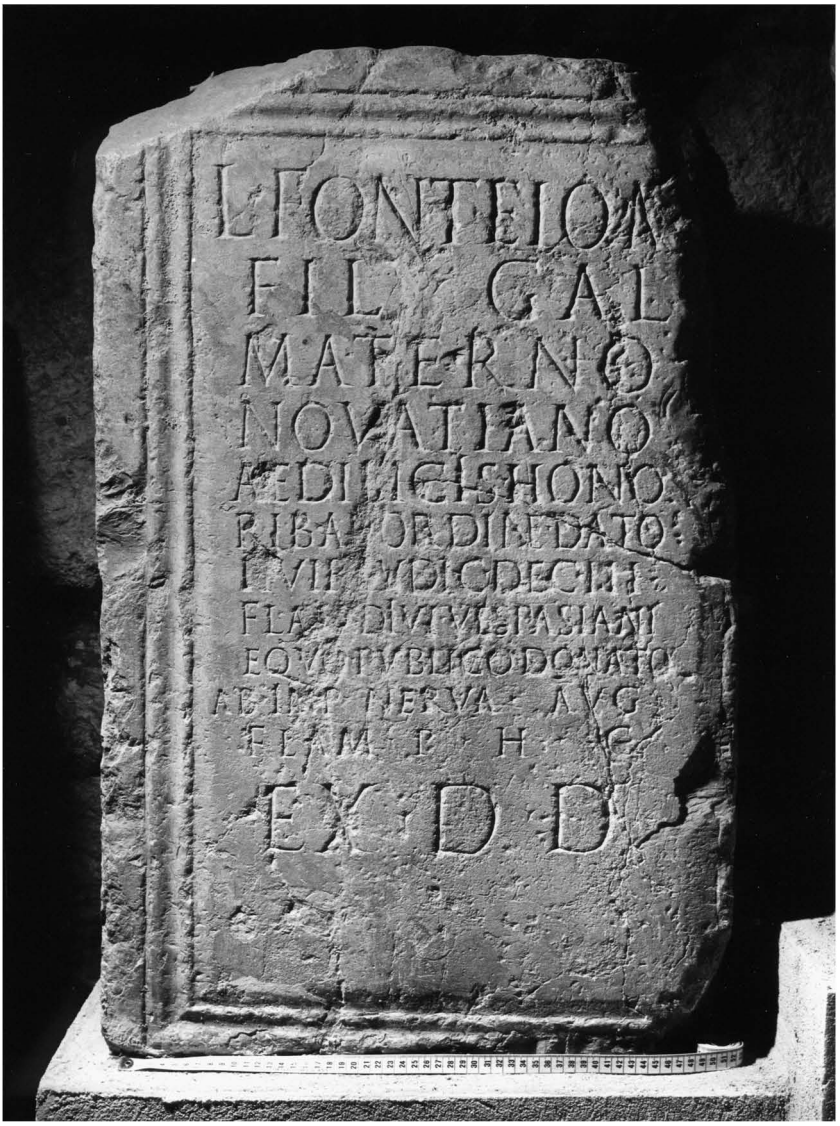


Plate 34. Inscription of L. Fonteius Maternus Novatianus.

The thesis of a special *Aufstellungsort* looks definitively confirmed by the known find-spots of these bases,[13] which despite random dislocations are concentrated in an area that must have been close to their original emplacement. Whereas seven or eight were found in the temple precinct, probably all erected by the council,[14] thirty-three originate from the forum on the central terrace, twenty-three dedicated by the council[15] with another five that possibly fall into this category.[16] Other bases from the central terrace include dedications by a priest's *patria* (nos. 19, 46) including the community of Tarraco (no. 33), by the son of a *flamen* (no. 13), and by testament of a provincial *flaminica*, possibly the wife of the *flamen* (no. 15: *RIT* 312, Pl. 33). Otherwise three bases (nos. 20, 42, 52) are of uncertain origin (either the *temenos* or the forum), all set up by the council, and only seven are known that were found outside the sanctuary. The single example of these dedicated by the *concilium* (no. 51) may have been removed from the provincial forum as was the statue erected by the colony of Tarraco (no. 7: *RIT* 279; Pl. 34), but five further bases found at different parts of the city were set up by private individuals.[17]

It can hardly be doubted, then, that a special place was reserved about the middle of the provincial forum, where statues of provincial *flamines* were erected by the provincial *concilium*, a priest's *patria*, or his near relatives; private individuals of lower status evidently set up their statues elsewhere in the city, notably on the colonial forum. That the region fell within the purview of the provincial council is clear from the circumstance that more often than not the bases record authorization by the province when the dedicator is other than the *concilium*.[18] It is

[13] For inscriptions of provincial *flamines* found at unknown locations see Alföldy (1973) 7, n. 21.

[14] Nos. 14, 26, 32, 34, 49, 68(?), 70, 76 (*RIT* 284; Pl. 31). On the displacement of these statues from the middle terrace see Alföldy (1991) 45.

[15] 2, 5 (*RIT* 288), 10, 12, 23, 24, 36, 39, 41 (*RIT* 295; Pl. 32), 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 62, 63 (*RIT* 256), 64, 65, 71 (*RIT* 308), 72 (*RIT* 314), 75.

[16] Nos. 4, 16, 17, 57, 61.

[17] Nos. 1, 5 (*RIT* 289), 21 (*RIT* 281), 22, 28. For the location of no. 1 in the interior of the basilica by the forum see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 54 with n. 133.

[18] Two inscriptions record that a provincial *flaminica* has been given a statue by her husband at his own expense with the consent of the province: Paetinia Paterna (*consent. p. H. c.*; no. 82), found outside the provincial enclave, where analogy suggests it will originally have stood; Sempronia Placida (*consensu concili p. H. c.*; no. 87), found in the provincial precinct. To these can be added one instance where a statue was set up by his fellow citizens to someone not a provincial priest but a knight and a member of a prominent family since the time of Hadrian: M. Fabius Paulinus (*loco a*

important to note, however, that the council also decided at its annual assembly to set up statues to other individuals as a reward for meritorious performance such as a successful embassy to the emperor, likewise to people of senatorial rank and to provincial notables including patrons of the province.[19] To all appearances, therefore, the provincial forum was reserved for the aristocracy of the province, the local elite receiving similar honours on the colonial forum in the lower city. Statues of emperors in contrast, perhaps also of provincial governors, stood exclusively in the *temenos* near the present Cathedral, where statues of the gods had their place.[20] The few monuments of provincial priests found on the upper terrace were doubtless moved there from the middle terrace as were presumably several inscribed seats from the meeting room of the *concilium* (*RIT* 250a-b, 251), where they accommodated *legati* from the various *conventus*.[21]

iii. *Provincial statues: Epigraphic Practice*

The custom of honouring provincial priests and others, whether on the central forum of the enclave or in the temple *temenos*, clearly gave rise to a consistent usage in regard to both the statues and their accom-

---

provincia [*imp*]*etrato*; *RIT* 374, set up in the provincial precinct). In this case the provincial council has granted a site but the decurions, evidently of Ilerda, the man's *patria*, had originally decreed the statue. In contrast the *cives Tarraconenses* have set up a statue to the provincial *flaminica*, Aurelia Marcellina, wife of the provincial(?) *flamen* without explicit mention of permission by the *concilium* (no. 86, found in the temple precinct).

[19] Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 604, 618 with refs.; *id.* (1979) 212; Fishwick, Fiction (1997) 173.

[20] Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) col. 602, noting that these were dedicated by provincial governors and other high officials of the imperial administration; cf. Alföldy (1979) 204–6.

[21] Inscriptions set up by the different *conventus* of Hither Spain, along with statues of their protective *genii*, suggest that *legati* will have been grouped according to the seven *conventus* of the province; cf. Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 617–18. For the four bases of the statues which represented the *genii* of the *conventus* (doubtless originally seven in number) see Alföldy (1979) 192, noting that these monuments were evidently of very similar dimensions and bore a comparable, three-line inscription. Erected in the Flavian period or the first half of the second century, they stood in the temple *temenos* and, as no dedicator is mentioned, were presumably set up by the provincial council or by groups of its members from the individual *conventus*. Alföldy notes that they plainly served a political or ideological purpose in expressing the representative character of the provincial council. On the view of Curchin (1996) 148, there may also be a link between the *genius* of the *conventus* and the *genius* of the emperor. See further Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 51.

panying inscriptions; evidently the *concilium* set guide lines which were also followed in municipal or private dedications.[22] Nothing is known of the statues themselves, which have long since vanished, but these can hardly have differed much from the life-size, togate figures, examples of which stood elsewhere at Tarraco and in other cities of Hispania citerior. Not a single vestige exists, it should be noted, of the group type of statues that is so distinctive of the sanctuary of the Three Gauls. Many of the bases, on the other hand, have survived as these could find a secondary use as building material of good local limestone.[23] Apart from two relics, the proportions of which point to equestrian statues for equestrian *flamines* (nos. 41: *RIT* 295; 43), all others are of broadly uniform shape, about 85–95 cms. high, 60 cms. wide and 55 cms. deep, with a framed inscription on the front side—exactly the format of other bases found at Tarraco in the period 70–220 A.D.[24] Alföldy reasonably argues that since the sides and back are smooth, they must have stood in an open place rather than against a wall. The upper surface in most cases shows a depression or several dowel holes for securing the statue.

The bases are for the most part carefully inscribed according to a formula that became gradually established after some experimentation. When recorded in full, the details include the priest's name, filiation, tribe and origin, above all the *cursus* inclusive of the flaminate, followed as a rule (though not invariably) by the dedicator. But in contrast to the regulation at Narbo the year of the flaminate is omitted, whereas at Corduba and originally at Lugdunum, so it would appear, this is regularly reported. A further discrepancy is that at Tarraco as at Lugdunum, the previous career is given in full, a point on which the Lex Narbonensis does not insist. The fact that the text can exceptionally include additional elements[25] and that many inscriptions omit one or more of the standard features suggests that there was no obligation to follow guide lines to the letter. Occasional errors, on the other hand, are evidently the result of the stone-cutter's misunderstanding of the draft, perhaps faulty itself.[26]

On most monuments at the provincial centre the text begins with the priest's full name along with his filiation, Roman tribe and origin; this

[22] Alföldy (1973) 10–14, 57; *id.* in RE Suppl. (1978) 619.
[23] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 136.
[24] See in general Alföldy (1979) 184–7; *RIT* 474ff.
[25] Nos. 10, 15: *RIT* 312, 33, 46, 76: *RIT* 284.
[26] Nos. 29, 35, 76: *RIT* 284.

is true of thirty-seven honorific texts, all but three (nos. 19, 22, 28) set up by the provincial council.[27] Among these, eight examples record the father's *cognomen* or full name rather than *praenomen*[28]; Alföldy suggests the council might have wished to stress the distinguished descent of the provincial *flamen*, a characteristic which would then parallel the similar usage in the inscriptions of C. Iulius Rufus and C. Iulius Victor at Mediolanum. While the filiation is rarely excluded,[29] the *origo* is often omitted in all types of dedications at the sanctuary particularly in the pre-Hadrianic period; in monuments at a priest's *patria* it would naturally be superfluous.[30] As for the *cursus*, on some memorials set up by the council no offices other than the provincial flaminate are mentioned though a prior career must surely be supposed.[31] Otherwise the usual procedure is to enumerate earlier offices, often resumed from the Hadrianic period by the umbrella formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica functus* or variant.[32] In most cases—more precisely forty-two inscriptions at Tarraco, the bulk erected by the council[33]—the career is given in forward order, a sequence sometimes broken by setting the provincial flaminate, the motive for the honorific monument, at the beginning. Exceptions to the usual order belong mostly among earlier dedications of all kinds (so of the late-first/early-second century) before a consistent pattern had taken hold.[34] At other centres of Hither Spain the *cursus* likewise appears in forward order for the most part if with occasional exceptions.[35] Lastly, the dedicator (the provincial council, community, or private person) normally appears at the end of the text both at Tarraco and elswhere, but in nine texts from Tarraco, all

[27] For priests with more than the usual three names see Alföldy (1973) 12, n. 38 with refs.

[28] Nos. 1, 19, 32, 36, 63: *CIL* 2, 6093, 65, 68, 75.

[29] Nos. 21: *RIT* 281; 72: *RIT* 314; 76: *RIT* 284.

[30] Alföldy (1973) 12 with nn. 40–2 and refs. His suggestion that at Tarraco there was no stress on a rigid formula for the priest's name (though dedications by the council are less negligent in this respect) is paralleled in various features of the documentation at Lugdunum.

[31] Apart from nos. 19 (dedicated by the community) and 22 (dedicated privately), all of the following were set up by council: nos. 20, 23, 24, 43, 53, 56: *RIT* 310, 72: *RIT* 314; perhaps also nos. 16, 17.

[32] Alföldy (1973) 19; cf. Wierschowski (1986) 289ff.

[33] For similar dedications by private individuals or a community see Alföldy (1973) 13, n. 45.

[34] Nos. 5: *RIT* 288, 5: *RIT* 289, 29, 33, 46, 48. For an irregular order of posts, all in inscriptions set up by the council, see further nos. 2, 32, 45.

[35] Alföldy (1973) 13 with n. 46.

erected by the *concilium*, the name of the dedicator, *p. H. c.*, stands at the beginning of the text, an innovation that begins under Trajan (no. 35).[36] This departure avoids the possibility of confusion arising from *flamini p. H. c., p. H. c.*, a repetition that could occasionally be forgotten in dedications by the council, it would appear (cf. nos. 16, 25, 61). One might compare here the practice at Lugdunum, where *Tres Galliae* can appear as part of the priest's title or in final place as the dedicator, in which case it is often enough repeated in large letters running the width of the socle supporting a group memorial (above, p. 23).

The most striking feature of the honours accorded a provincial priest at the Tarraco sanctuary is clearly the erection of a statue with inscribed base in rough conformity with the corresponding regulation of the Lex Narbonensis. Clearly the epigraphical usage differs in some respects, the most significant of which is the omission of any chronological indication of the incumbent's term. Even so the practice itself, coupled with the fact that statues with inscribed bases apparently begin to be erected early under Vespasian, strongly suggests that broadly similar regulations to those in force at Narbo Martius were introduced at Tarraco about the same time. In that case one could reasonably expect other provisions of the Lex Narbonensis to be likewise applicable at Tarraco.

iv. *The Priestly Title*

The title of the provincial priest is attested under various forms, the shortest version of which is *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, more often abbreviated to *flamen / flam. p. H. c.*.[37] Some fifty-eight inscriptions record variations of this formula at Tarraco and other cities in dedications set up by the *concilium*, communities or private individuals,[38] and essentially the same title occurs in Pliny, our sole literary source (no. 8). Brevity had advantages in epigraphic practice, of course, and it is clear that the short form was used throughout the period in which inscriptions occur, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius and later. The full title *flamen Romae, Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* is attested by seven(?) inscriptions, all set up by the council, for the most part in

[36] See further nos. 44, 50, 53, 56, 58, 59, 62, 64.

[37] Alföldy (1973) 46–9; *id.* in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 619.

[38] For dedications set up by communities and individuals see Alföldy's list (1973) 47, n. 108.

the second century,[39] but a shortened, imprecise version is additionally attested by a text set up by the community of Segobriga: *flam. Romae et Divorum August. p. H. c.* (no. 46). Other forms of the title are strictly speaking incorrect in so far as they omit (with varying abbreviations) either *Romae* or *Divorum*, sometimes both, though some form of *Augustorum* is always included: *flamen Romae et Aug. provinc. Hispan. citer.* (no. 5: *RIT* 288; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVa), *flamen Aug. prov. Hisp. cit.* vel. sim. (nos. 3, 5: *RIT* 289, 57), *flamen Divorum et Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* (nos. 10, 13), *flamen Divorum Augustorum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* (nos. 4, 26). In addition there is one example of *flamen Augustalis p. H. c.* set up by the council (no. 36; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVIIa).

What clearly emerges is that these varying formulae depend simply on whether the title uses the short form or is given in full; in that case components can drop out, an occurrence found more often in dedications by municipalities or private individuals than by the *concilium*. As with other features of the inscriptions, a standard formula established itself only gradually. While the short title was widespread from the beginning, the variant forms of the full version appear in the last third of the first century and the first half of the second, when the Flavian reforms are recent;[40] one might compare in this respect the formula recorded in the decree of the local *ordo* of Tarraco (*RIT* 316).[41] In any event the key point to be made is that these stylistic variants do not denote varying forms of cult.[42] Though the full title seems not to have become established before about Hadrian's reign, Dea Roma has her place within the cult already between A.D. 80 and 90 (no. 5: *RIT* 288), so there is no reason to doubt that the cult was addressed to Dea Roma, the *Divi* and the reigning monarch(s) from the time of Vespasian. We have seen earlier that the term *Augustorum* in particular includes the living emperor with deceased, consecrated emperors, in exactly the same way as does the corresponding term Σεβαστῶν in the Greek east.[43] In that case the completed temple can hardly have failed to be dedicated to Roma along with the living and deified *Augusti*.

---

[39] Nos. 23, 24, 43, 49, 53, 56: *RIT* 310; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVb. To these should possibly be added no. 11, where the full title is restored. See in summary Alföldy (1991) 60–1.

[40] Nos. 4, 5: *RIT* 288–9, 10, 13, 36, 69.

[41] Vol. III, 1, 159–63.

[42] For earlier interpretations along these lines see Vol. I, 2, 269, n. 1; Alföldy (1973) 46, nn. 104–5.

[43] Vol. I, 2, 271–6.

v. *Origin and Social Background*

Over a period of some hundred years the surviving inscriptions of provincial priests preserve an invaluable record of the local origins and social standing of a privileged group, a municipal upper class that stood immediately below the upper equestrian and senatorial class.[44] From the details preserved in their inscriptions, mention of the *origo* and *tribus* in particular, it is clear that priests were drawn from each of the seven *conventus* of Hither Spain: Tarraconensis (20), Carthaginiensis (21), Caesaraugustanus (12), Cluniensis (4), Asturum (5), Bracaraugustanus (6), Lucensis (2).[45] Evidently the legal status of a town, whether *colonia* or *municipium*, Roman or of Latin rights, played no role in election to the high priesthood, though no priest orginates from a *civitas* without some form of civic autonomy. What counted was rather the wealth and visibility of the elite and the part they played in provincial administration. This is clearly reflected in the fact that forty-one *flamines* come from the *conventus* of Tarraconensis and Carthaginensis with only twenty-nine from the five *conventus* of the north and north-west. In other words the earliest known *flamines* come mainly from the more numerous cities of these *conventus*, particulary the flourishing centres of the Spanish east coast, where a developed economic and social structure provided a better chance to gain wealth, reputation and influence: Tarraco, Saguntum, Dianium, Carthago Nova, and Palma on Majorca. What looks equally clear is that it was easier to get elected if one's *patria* played a major role in the administration of the province. In particular, a prospective priest from Tarraco, the seat of provincial government and financial administration, was better qualified through his contacts to represent the interests of the provincials, a factor that must have been taken into consideration by the *concilium*. Not surprisingly, then, perhaps thirteen of the known priests come from the capital of the *conventus Tarraconensis*.

A further characteristic of the provincial flaminate is that the citizens of most other capitals of the *conventus* are well represented among incumbents. This is true not only of Caesaraugusta but also of Asturica, Bracara Augusta and Lucus Augusti in the *conventus* of the north and

[44] Alföldy (1973) 20–7, 58; *id.* in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 619; (1991) 61. The origin of the most recent priest to come to light (no. 11) is unknown.

[45] For a convenient map of the provinces and *conventus iuridici* of Spain see Alfoldy (2000) 16, Abb. 2.

north-west. For example, two *flamines* from Caesaraugustanus originate from Grallium and Damanium (nos. 55, 61), but it is striking that they were elected provincial priests following "adlection" at the colony of Caesaraugusta. Evidently it helped to belong to the capital of a *conventus*—the large number of *flamines* from Segobriga is to be explained by the relative importance of the *caput Celtiberiae*. The final feature worth noting is that in the period A.D. 70–180 citizens of the important east towns gained earlier entry to the provincial flaminate, whereas those of smaller communities, especially in the inland and the north and north-west, get elected from the beginning of the second century. After A.D. 120 one finds far fewer from the capitals of *conventus*; the remainder come from smaller centres including fourteen mostly from the interior of the *conventus Carthginiensis* and no less than ten from the north and north-west.[46]

Why exactly the origin of priests gradually shifted away from the richer centres of the east coast is difficult to say.[47] The improved economic and social status of small communities of the north and north-west can have swung the balance only if for some reason citizens from the east coast lost interest or influence, perhaps both. As Alföldy points out, this development is really part of a larger picture in that Spanish senators and knights had their hey-day in the Flavian and Trajanic period. From the reign of Hadrian the number of senators and procurators of Spanish origin tails off and the Spanish elite lose their position of power in Roman politics. By the time of the Severan repressions those at Tarraco and elsewhere who were rich enough to hold office had for some reason lost interest in the priesthood or at any rate were no longer elected.

As for social context it seems clear that aside from personal merit and a distinguished earlier career, the family background of a prospective priest could give his candidacy a strong start. In the case of Voconius Romanus (no. 8), for example, Pliny stresses the renown of his father, who had achieved equestrian rank, the reputation of his father-in-law, and the social standing of his mother. Roman citizenship was a pre-requisite, of course, but it clearly helped if this had been obtained

[46] For details see Alföldy (1973) 24–5, suggesting that priests of the pre-Flavian period, who have left no trace, will have come from the flourishing towns of east Spain and the main centres of the *conventus*. On provincial priests (and one priestess) from central Spain see Curchin (1996) 148–9.

[47] Alföldy (1973) 59–60.

some generations back (cf. no. 71). Often enough it is impossible to tell whether a family is of local or foreign origin as the process of assimilation had long effaced the distinction between native and immigrant in towns founded long ago such as Tarraco or Carthago Nova, the *patria* of some of the earliest *flamines*; the local elite counted as Spanish without reference to the origin of their ancestors. As a rule, high priests look to have been drawn from the leading families of a town, men of landed property who were known to the delegates of the council as solid citizens. A clear sign of this is that inscriptions not only give a priest's filiation with the father often designated by his *cognomen* or even his full name but in some instances detailed particulars of a father or step-father and his family (cf. nos. 1, 8, 15, 36). With their network of relatives in other towns the leading families in individual cities would be widely known in the province, so that at elections to the provincial priesthood candidates could count not only on the renown of their family but likely enough on the votes of relatives, who as persons of high social status may well have numbered among the *legati* who sat on the *concilium*.

vi. *Career*

Before attaining the provincial *flamonium* priests appear to have had a varied *cursus* with at least one, usually several previous offices as the norm.[48] As other inscriptions relating to the same individual show, this is true even when only the flaminate is mentioned or the earlier *cursus* is incomplete. More often than not, however, the earlier career is given, whether listed in detail, usually in forward order, or summarized under the formula *omnibus honoribus in republica sua functus*. As a result, Alföldy distinguishes four different career patterns before the priesthood. Similar backgrounds, though not the same range, can be observed in other provinces where the data are more restricted. On the other hand numerous priests both in Hither Spain and other provinces are impossible to categorize as no details of their *cursus* are known.

The first group consists of a dozen priests who with one exception (no. 1) held only equestrian posts before the provincial flaminate.[49]

[48] Alföldy (1973) 28; *id.* in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 619.

[49] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 14, 21, 26, 29, 32, 40. For discussion see Alföldy (1973) 29–32 with refs.; Maurin (1978) 190 with n. 52 and bibl. On the military *cursus* see further Curchin (1990) 45–7.

As the careers of this very privileged set began directly with a *militia equestris*, presumably before their 25th or 30th year (the minimal age for municipal office), they must have been rich enough in their youth to afford the 400,000 sesterces required for equestrian rank and have had close contacts with senatorial army commanders or equestrian governors who launched them on their careers. In one case (no. 29) admission to equestrian rank by the emperor Titus is recorded. They served mostly for a relatively long period in their equestrian posts, sometimes reaching the office of *praefectus orae maritimae* (nos. 4, 5)[50] or a lower procuratorship (nos. 5, 32), and only in three cases appear (for whatever reason) to have held a single equestrian post, the military tribunate, before the provincial priesthood (nos. 1, 9, 21). Scions of wealthy, distinguished and influential families, they pursued a career untypical of the hundred years during which we have evidence of provincial priests. For the most part they originate from the important centres of east Spain, possibly three from Tarraco itself (nos. 1. 4?, 5?), with only two from the smaller towns of north Spain (nos. 14, 40), and are distinctive of the Flavian and perhaps Trajanic periods. Their careers show that the pre-conditions for advancement lay in the wealthy towns and *conventus* capitals of east Spain. With some exceptions this type of individual is far removed from what one finds in other provinces, though equestrian rank is common among provincial priests of Narbonensis, who in several cases held a religious rather than a military post at the outset of their career. In Tres Galliae perhaps two early examples of a previous equestrian career are attested. In Proconsularis earlier equestrian posts are rare, though the public horse is occasionally recorded of provincial priests over the period for which we have evidence. In contrast about half of the priests of Dacia are of equestrian rank, if rarely attested as performing equestrian duties.

The second group consists of some dozen priests who in this case first held municipal office as a prelude to equestrian duties, in which for the most part they served briefly before ascending to the high priesthood.[51] Equestrian status was achieved sometimes before (no. 35), sometimes after municipal office (nos. 28, 58), but the sequence of municipal posts followed by equestrian is common to the group as a whole. In so far as they belonged to the *ordo equester* and had performed

[50] On the prefecture of the sea coast see Curchin (1990) 47.

[51] Nos. 3, 10, 28, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 45, 48, 49, 58. For discussion see Alföldy (1973) 33–6.

equestrian military service they likewise had a privileged position in provincial society, but whereas the first group were already knights in their youth, the second group mostly acquired the public horse after a municipal career in which they had often performed *omnes honores*. If the standard practice was to become a knight after municipal service and on appointment to the *militia equestris*, the majority will have become knights between 30 and 40 years of age, some even later. Nothing is known of rich illustrious ancestors in their cases, so it looks as if the requisite financial standing will have been achieved through their own business enterprises or through rich inheritances. In three texts the grant of the public horse (twice by Hadrian) is specifically mentioned (nos. 28, 35, 58).

One important difference from the careers of the first group, however, is that their military service was much shorter. While nine held only one equestrian office,[52] the rest two or three at most,[53] none became commander of a calvalry unit, an appointment made by the imperial administration. In practice therefore they were excluded from the group that the imperial administration thought worthy of the *tertia militia*, presumably because they were considered less suitable or had served so long at the municipal level. Also noticeable is that apart from two inclusions in the panel of jurors (nos. 35: before grant of equestrian status, 58), only one was promoted to a higher equestrian post, a sexagenarian procuratorship *ab alimentis* (no. 34). While their origins correspond closely to those of the first group with about half from Tarraco and other centres of *conventus*, their careers fall into a perceptibly later period. By and large the municipal-equestrian type of *cursus* is characteristic of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

In the third type of career municipal service is crowned by enrolment on the five panels of jurors, the first three of which were staffed by the *ordo equester*.[54] Only three of the nine priests of this group are expressly stated to have held the public horse, in two cases by gift of Nerva and Hadrian respectively (nos. 7, 41, cf. 39); the others seem not to have been elevated. As none served a *militia equestris*, not even the knights, members clearly belonged to a lower social class than priests of the first two groups, yet were distinguished by their enrolment on the decuries

[52] Nos. 3, 10, 28, 35, 38, 42, 48, 49, 58.

[53] Nos. 34, 37, 45.

[54] Nos. 7, 36, 39, 41, 44, 56, 57, 64, 76. For discussion see Alföldy (1973) 37–9, cf. 34, n. 84 with refs.; Curchin (1990) 48–9.

of the fourth and largest group, who pursued an entirely municipal career. An interesting question is whether they actually served in Rome, as Alföldy holds. If the phrase *adlectus in quinque decurias* vel. sim. means simply that one was put on the list from which selection might or might not take place,[55] then only nos. 7, 39, 41 actually did duty as a juror; the rest were named as honorary judges, itself a mark of imperial favour. As indicated by the enumeration of their offices and the frequent use of *honoribus omnibus in re publica sua functus*, most had previously enjoyed a full municipal career, which in three instances preceded the priesthood of a *conventus* (nos. 36, 64, 76). It follows that broadly speaking these priests were adlected to the panels of jurors at a well-advanced age and in few cases attained the *ordo equester*. The group is also distinctive in that they show a wider range of origins and that the municipal-equestrian sequence of offices becomes common later under Hadrian, extending to the end of the second century (no. 76). The one exception is the earliest of the group whose exceptional *cursus* fell under Nerva (no. 7).

The bulk of the *flamines* whose *cursus* has come down belong to the last group, twenty-five as compared with thirty-three from the first three categories.[56] These are priests who had previously pursued an entirely municipal career—mostly summarized *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus*—without equestrian posts or enrolment on the judicial decuries, though two (nos. 59, 63) have also held the priesthood of a *conventus* (cf. no. 31?). We have seen that this kind of career predominates among the priests of Tres Galliae. Only two of the group (nos. 62, 65) were knights, the former by gift of the emperor Hadrian. The lower social status of the group emerges also in their origins, only six coming from the chief centres of the *conventus*, three from those of the north-west, and few with a *patria* among the towns of east Spain. Conversely most come from the small towns of the Spanish inland, especially north and north-west Spain, and citizens of these smaller communities, situated far from the east coast, are decidely better represented in this group than in the first two or even the third. The chronology of their careers is likewise peculiar in that there is one under Hadrian, three before *ca.* 150, and

[55] For the point that the formula *in quinque decurias adlectus* means one simply was placed on the list of potential honorary judges see Pflaum (1968) 184ff., noting W. Seston's phrase "une liste d'aptitude": *id.* (1958) 11. Cf. Burnand (1975) 770, n. 4 with refs.

[56] Nos. 12, 13, 15, 18, 25, 33, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75. For discussion see Alföldy (1973) 40–3.

twelve from the middle or the second half of the second century. It looks very much, then, as if after an earlier start this type of career took hold under Antoninus Pius or thereabouts, so is characteristic of the middle and the second half of the second century. Presumably similar careers of uncertain date belong also to this period.

In retrospect the dominant feature of this aspect of the provincial flaminate is a progressive depreciation of the office in which the diminishing status of the incumbents is matched by a corresponding shift in the pattern of their origins. Just as the office was filled more and more by incumbents of lower stature, so the *patria* of candidates moves from the richer and more prosperous towns of the east coast to those of the interior and the north-west. All this surely points as much to growing indifference and loss of interest in the provincial priesthood as to creeping impoverishment of the once flourishing cities of the east coast.

In principle the provincial flaminate was neither the completion of a career (of whatever type), nor a stepping-stone to further advancement;[57] as Alföldy points out, there was no regulation in this connection. Even so, testimony to posts held beyond the provincial flaminate is as fleeting as in, say, Tres Galliae or Proconsularis; only Narbonensis has provided substantial evidence in this regard. The prime example in Hispania Citerior is Raecius Gallus (no. 1), who was admitted into the senatorial *ordo* under Vespasian soon after his provincial flaminate and served successively as *quaestor* in Baetica, *tribunus plebis*, *praetor* and *sodalis Augustalis*. But his career is unique and occurs right at the beginning of the era for which we have documentation. More significant is the fact that Pliny sought unsuccessfully to secure the admission of his friend Voconius Romanus (no. 8) to the senate and to get him a post in a province, perhaps as military tribune (usually served before the flaminate). Otherwise only three provincial *flamines* are recorded to have held office after the flaminate of Hither Spain. Two of these served priesthoods: Memmius Barbarus (no. 9), who was *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* of a *conventus* and Pompeius Faventinus (no. 6), who apparently served as *sacerdos Urbis Romae* at Asturica.[58] The sequence is matched in Proconsularis, where the provincial *sacerdos* P. Iulius Liberalis (*AE*, 1914, 41) was subsequently *flamen perpetuus* at Thamugadi and P. Mummius Saturninus (*CIL* 8, 12039) looks to have been offered a flaminate at Furnos Maius after holding provincial office (below, pp. 197–8). A parallel to

[57] Alföldy (1973) 54–6.
[58] Vol. I, 2, 353–60.

this progression also occurs in the careers of provincial *flaminicae* of Hither Spain such as Fulvia Celera (no. 79)—Porcia Materna (no. 81) even served as municipal *flaminica* in three different centres after her term as provincial priestess (see further below, pp. 97–8). Far from being a step down, then, to hold a local priesthood in one's *patria* after provincial office was the highest honour that one's compatriots could offer to an esteemed fellow citizen; the same is true of the priesthood of a *conventus*. Lastly, there is the career of M. Iulius Adoptivus (no. 76), which culminated in the position of provincial patron, the only attested case in Hispania Citerior where a provincial *flamen* achieved this distinction.[59]

In most cases, however, particularly if one did not belong to the equestrian order, the provincial priesthood looks to have been the summit of a career. It should nevertheless be stressed that since monuments were usually erected on conclusion of that office, their honorific dedications could hardly include later posts. In three of the five cases where an inscription was certainly or apparently set up some time after the flaminate (nos. 1, 6, 9) subsequent posts are in fact mentioned, so it is perfectly possible that equestrians who had completed the *militiae equestres* could subsequently hold, say, a lower procuratorship. Here it should be noted that the chances for continuing a career were strongest in the early period, A.D. 70–100, when the equestrian career pattern predominates, whereas it was hardly possible later for those who had previously enjoyed only local municipal experience. It is not surprising, therefore, given the gradual decline in the calibre of incumbents, that the provincial flaminate came more and more to be the crowning office of a *cursus*. This a direct corollary of the fact that in the later period those who ascended to the provincial priesthood were not equestrians.

A final point to emerge is that tenure of the provincial priesthood was not a precondition for rapid rise to the upper levels of Roman society. While it was the greatest honour that the citizens of a province could bestow on a distinguished fellow-provincial, it did not open the way to the *amplissimus ordo* except in the abnormal case of Raecius Gallus. Higher equestrian posts above the centenarian procuratorship were also unattainable. Provincial priests did belong to a local elite but remained a third social group below senators and the higher equestrians within the social structure of the province. By and large further social advancement was reserved for their descendants.

[59] Alföldy (1973) 15–16.

vii. *The Priestly Office*

As elsewhere, the basic qualifications for election were Roman citizenship, good repute and sufficient means to support the costs of office. The lower age limit will presumably have been twenty-five though most *flamines* must have been well over thirty years of age.[60] Raecius Gallus (no. 1) became high priest three or four years after the military tribunate, so can hardly have been more than about twenty-five, but there are no parallels in Hispania Citerior to the case of Q. Licinius Ultor, who became *sacerdos* of Tres Galliae at the age of twenty-two (*AE*, 1980, 635a). Voconius Romanus (no. 8) was about thirty-five when chosen as high priest while those who had performed their *militiae equestres* between the ages of twenty and thirty, or at least had begun their career at this age, will have reached the flaminate between thirty and forty. That a considerable interval could intervene between the equestrian career and candidature for the high priesthood looks documented by the career of C. Aemilius Fraterninus (no. 2). After an unusually long equestrian career, more especially after a long municipal career, for which the lowest age was twenty-five or thirty years, a priest must have been about forty by the time he was elected. In all probability therefore most *flamines* will have been between forty and fifty though no upper age limit is known; Memmius Barbarus (no. 9) looks to have served at the age of about fifty-five.

Election to the high priesthood evidently depended upon social status with the reputation and influence it conferred. Members of the senatorial order were excluded but some thirty-three *flamines* of Hither Spain belonged to the *ordo equester*, including all the known priests down to the reign of Hadrian or thereabouts; only from the time of Antoninus Pius are knights outnumbered by incumbents who lack the public horse. Admission to the equestrian order required meritorious service as well as wealth, so the experience gained by contact with the Roman administration will have provided a useful background, while for purely ritual functions local priesthoods put tenants *au fait* with the requisite routine. Not surprisingly six provincial priests are explicitly recorded to have served as municipal *flamines* (nos. 1, 7, 10, 28, 35, 37, 38[61]), two as local *pontifices* (nos. 38, 39), and perhaps seven as *sacerdos*

[60] Alföldy (1973) 44–6.

[61] For the appointment of Raecius Gallus (no. 1) as honorary *flamen perpetuus* of Vespasian at Tarraco by decree of the decurions see Alföldy (1973) 30.

of a Spanish *conventus* (nos. 9, 31?, 36, 59, 63, 64, 76[62]); the civic priesthoods of numerous others are doubtless included under the comprehensive formula *omnibus honoribus in re public sua functus*. At the opposite extreme a specially distinguished high priest could run for office a second time though as elsewhere in the western provinces repetition is seldom attested. Only L. Numisius Laetus (no. 38), a priest from Carthago Nova who served two terms as *flamen* of Hither Spain in the first half of the second century,[63] compares with Tur]onus, who apparently held the *sacerdotium* of Tres Galliae twice (*CIL* 13, 1716). The actual procedure for election to the high priesthood is not reported in the sources though the number of the *legati* who cast votes may have been determined by the size and population of the communities they represented.[64] On the other hand the term *flamen designatus* (nos. 19, 31) suggests that the council chaired by the current high priest elected a new *flamen* who was so termed until he took office for the next religious year. Whether this coincided with the calendar year, as apparently the case in Baetica, is not revealed by the inscriptions of Hither Spain. That peculiarity aside, the duties of the incumbent priest of Hither Spain or indeed of any western province must have been broadly similar to what we have seen in Tres Galliae.[65]

viii. *The Provincial Priestess*

In addition to provincial *flamines*, some eleven *flaminicae* of Hither Spain are now recorded.[66] The inscriptions of six of these give the title *flaminica p. H. c.* vel. sim. (nos. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82) while four texts recording just the title *flaminica* were found on the provincial forum (nos. 83, 84,

[62] [I]ulius Fidus (no. 31) is recorded at Asturica as [*s*]*acerdos Rom. et Aug.* While the *conventus* is not explicitly mentioned, the priestly formula in combination with the locality points to a conventual priest.

[63] See recently García (1985).

[64] For the suggestion that delegates will have been chosen in the assemblies of their respective *conventus* see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 49.

[65] On the usefulness of the council meetings chaired by the high priest of Hither Spain see Ruiz de Arbulo, *o.c.* 49 with refs., noting that these meetings allowed the urban elite to discuss fiscal and territorial problems and bring pressure to bear on the Roman administration.

[66] Alföldy (1973) 49–53; (1991) 61–2. An inscription from Dertosa records, as restored, a dedication *Por*[*ciae*] | *G(aii) f(iliae) S*[*eranae/er(anae) flam(inicae)*] *pro*[*vincial*] | *i mu*[*n(icipium) H(ibera) I(ulium) Dert(osa)* (?) | …] (*AE*, 1985, 626). With no parallel to the form *flaminica provincialis* it seems preferable to follow the editors of *AE*, who suggest rather *S*[*em*]*pro*[*nianae*] in line 2.

85, 87)—where most inscriptions of the *flamines p. H. c.* were found. At least one of the *flaminicae provinciae* comes from the same area (no. 81), another from the temple *temenos* (no. 86). Of the texts with the bare title *flaminica* one was set up by the council itself (no. 85), another by the priestess's husband with the consent of the province (no. 87; cf. 82, found outside the provincial forum), so on the whole there is every reason to take these four also as provincial *flaminicae*. The abbreviation can be paralleled in the shortened title of some provincial priests. As for their marital status, six priestesses are expressly stated to be wives of incumbent provincial priests (nos. 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85), while in the Tarraco text from the temple *temenos* a provincial priestess is said to be *uxor flami*[*ni*]*s* (no. 86). With no evidence to the contrary, therefore, Alföldy looks justified in inferring that in Hispania Citerior the wife of a functioning provincial priest normally served as provincial *flaminica*. This may not have been the case in Gallia Narbonensis, where the Lex Narbonenis uses only the expression *uxor flaminis* without reference to the office of provincial priestess, which is attested independently (*CIL* 12, 2516: line 6). On the other hand two provincial *flaminicae* seem not to have been the wife of a provincial *flamen*—not at least at the time he held office: Sempronia Placida (no. 87), to whom her husband, apparently a member of the provincial *concilium*, erected a statue *consensu provincii concilii p. H. c.*, and Fulvia Celera (no. 79), who apparently was no longer alive when her husband attained the provincial priesthood. It would appear, then, that a provincial *flaminica* could be elected independently to what looks to have been an office in its own right,[67] presumably superintendence of the cult of deified females as attested in Baetica (*AE*, 1966, 183).

A priestess of the province had no possibility of a full career but could hold office as municipal *flaminica* or *flaminica perpetua* in one or several cities.[68] Thus Fulvia Celera (no. 79) was previously perpetual *flaminica* at the colony of Tarraco while Porcia Materna (no. 81) served

[67] See further below, pp. 207–8, with n. 5 and the discussion of Hertz (1992) 101, 106.

[68] Alföldy (1973) no. 101 lists Aemilia L. f. Paterna of Aeso as possibly a provincial *flaminica perpetua p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)* who served *ca.* 100/120 (*CIL* 2, 4190, 4462; *RIT* 319). As no provincial *flaminica* is termed *perpetua*, she must surely be a municipal *flaminica*; cf. nos. 79, 81. The alternative suggestion that *p. H. c.* refers to the dedicator is complicated by one or more following lines of text. Other completions that might come into the picture are … ⟨*flaminicae*⟩ *p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)* (cf. *RIT* 325) or … *p(rovincia) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)* [*consentiente- maritus s. p. f.*] vel sim. (cf. *RIT* 323, Pl. 35). With the latter part of the text lost the problem is incapable of solution.

subsequently as perpetual *flaminica* in Osicerda, Caesaraugusta and Tarraco. That the office of provincial priestess was of lower status than that of provincial priest looks confirmed by the small number of honorific inscriptions set up to priestesess. These were on rare occasions dedicated by the provincial council (no. 85), sometimes by the husband, a provincial priest (nos. 77, 81), who on two occasions mentions the consent of the province (nos. 82, 87), otherwise by private individuals (nos. 78, 79, 80, 83, 84) or by the citizens of Tarraco (no. 86). As in the case of provincial priests, the *origo* is carefully noted. Evidently a priestess could be married to a *flamen* from either the same or a different *conventus*, clear indication of the close ties between leading families of the entire province. Equally, their origins show—even more plainly than with priests—that provincial *flaminicae* came in the early period from centres on the east coast, later from inland and eventually the north.

ix. *Provincial Officials*

In contrast to the unambiguous evidence for federal officials at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, no trace has survived of similar functionaries in the service of the provincial centre at Tarraco. An inscription documents the name of L. Fabius *provinc(iae) lib(ertus)* Victor (*RIT* 335, Pl. 36),[69] but records of a *tabularius* or *arcarius*, whose bureaux may have stood on the middle level of the provincial sanctuary,[70] plainly refer to subordinate employees of the imperial administration rather than of the *concilium*. Instead particular tasks were evidently entrusted to individuals specially appointed by the province. Thus Cn. Numisius Modestus (no. 60) was elected by the council *ad statuas aurandas Divi Hadriani*: that is, in all probability, to gild the statues of the reigning emperor Hadrian which were carried in procession on festival days and stored in the porch of the provincial temple when not in use.[71] In the same way C. Calpurnius Flaccus (no. 33) was honoured by the colony of Tarraco as *curator templi* and *praefectus murorum*.[72] While the care of the town walls looks to have been a municipal office, the curatorship of the unnamed temple in all probability concerned restoration of the

[69] Deininger (1965) 126–7 with n. 5.
[70] Vol. III, 3, 33–4.
[71] Vol. I, 2, 280; II, 1, 541 (Trajan is misprinted for Hadrian).
[72] Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 105 with n. 47; Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 132–3.

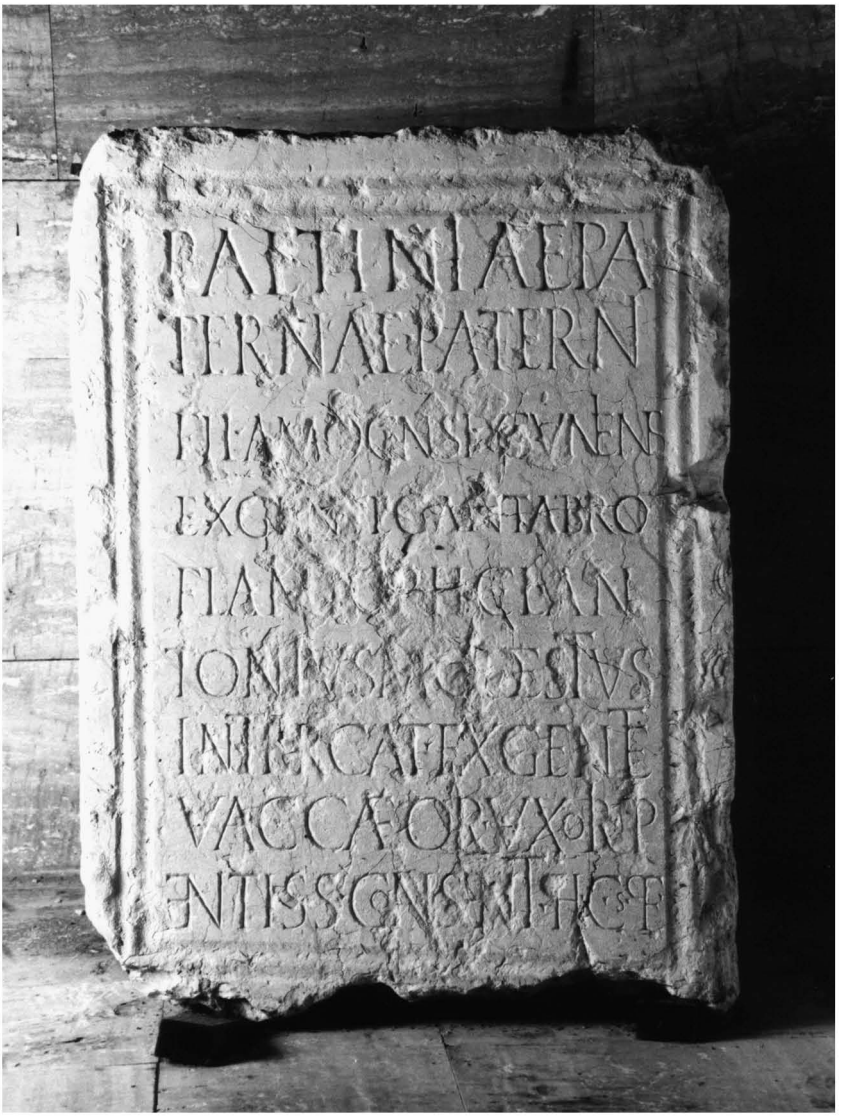


Plate 35. Inscription of Paetinia Paterna.

Plate 36. Dedication by L. Fabius Victor, *provinciae libertus*.

"Temple of Augustus" in connection with the visit of Hadrian to Tarraco in the winter of A.D. 121–2, when the emperor reportedly financed work on the *aedes Augusti*.[73]

x. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

The chronological development of the flaminate can be demonstrated only on the basis of a reliable sequence of *flamonia*, however approximate this might be. The conclusion of earlier research that the vast majority of the texts fall in the period from Vespasian to Marcus Auelius has been confirmed by Alföldy, who bases an exact or probable dating not only on internal data—notices of reigning or deified emperors, references to the military or administrative history of the province—but also on ties of kinship between priests and their relatives.[74] To this can be added the circumstance that, whereas the posts of a full municipal career tend to be listed individually in earlier dedications, the common comprehensive formula *omnibus honoribus in republica sua functus* and variants appears to begin under Hadrian. As a result, some fourteen inscriptions that cannot be dated on other grounds may on this basis be placed between about A.D. 120 and 180.[75]

The two earliest priests to whom a reasonably precise date can be assigned are Raecius Gallus (no. 1: *ca.* A.D. 72/3) and C. Aemilius Fraterninus (no. 2: *ca.* A.D. 70/80),[76] but the possibility that [C. ?I]ulius Fidus (no. 31), priest of the *conventus* of Astaric Augusta, might be celebrated as *flamen designatus* at Asturica before A.D. 70 looks excluded if it was Vespasian who founded the cult of the *conventus* of North-West Spain.[77] It would appear, then, that not a single base from the central terrace of the sanctuary certainly pre-dates the reign of Vespasian.[78] A further consideration that puts most bases between Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius is the uniform character of the monuments themselves,

[73] Vol. III, 1, 186–8. For the curatorship of a temple see Vol. I, 2, 247, suggesting Flaccus will have been appointed by the provincial council.

[74] Alföldy (1973) 14ff.; (1979) 230–1. For priesthoods to which an exact or probable date can be assigned see in particular nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 29, 33, 34, 35, 40, 41, 42, 58, 60, 62, 75.

[75] Alföldy (1973) 19 with nn. 61–2; *RIT* p. 474; Wierschowski (1986) 289ff.

[76] For the view that the provincial cult of Hispania Citerior dates from the great census of A.D. 73–4 see recently Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 54.

[77] Vol. III, 1, 9 with n. 13, 96 with n. 3. Alföldy (1973) 15 takes a pre-Flavian date to be a possibility.

[78] Alföldy (1978) 604; *RIT* p. 473ff.; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 321.

which cohere not only in the lettering and format of the epigraphical texts but also in the circumstance that the pedestals remain unchanged from A.D. *ca.* 70–170. A key point to be noted in this connection is that there are numerous similar bases at Tarraco which supported statues to deities, emperors, governors, imperial officials, municipal officials and local worthies. Many of these are exactly dated and with few exceptions fall in the same period, none at all before the accession of Vespasian.[79] Evidently the Flavian usage at the provincial centre set the pattern for municipal statues in this respect. The only exception to this overall picture is the monument of M. Iulius Serenianus Adoptivus (no. 76), who served under Commodus or Septimius Severus. This text, which was certainly inscribed after A.D. 180, differs sharply from earlier records in its letter forms, abbreviations and ligatures, also in the details recorded; in particular the tribe is given but not the filiation, and the province has dedicated the monument to the priest as its provincial patron. Other *flamines* may well have serve as patrons of the province but no other inscription gives the reason or occasion for an honorific dedication by the province. Whether several further inscriptions (nos. 27, 73, 74) could be as late as the first half of the third century is very uncertain. The few bases from Tarraco that have survived from a later period, mostly the Severan age, differ from earlier bases in their inferior letter forms, often also in the height of the base, while later dedications are inscribed on re-used earlier statue bases.

It follows that the practice of erecting a statue to a provincial priest at the sanctuary of Hispania Citerior, to all appearances on the central forum rather in the temple *temenos*, began suddenly *ca.* A.D. 70, continued in full vigour down to about A.D. 180, then petered out in much the same way as the custom of raising memorials to other personalities. This body of evidence is remarkable, therefore, for the circumstance that we have no trace of a provincial priest in the Julio-Claudian period, know a good two-thirds of the total roster for the next hundred years, then face the rapid disappearance of any evidence whatsoever. So striking a combination of three different phases can hardly be attributed to incomplete documentation, the bare fact that traces have failed to survive. When vestiges of official cult in Narbonensis, Baetica or Proconsularis continue into the third century and when provincial worship took on a new lease of life under the Severi at Lugdunum, some

[79] Alfoldy (1973) 16 with n. 51. For a detailed picture see Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 134–6.

Plate 37. Inscribed base of statue set up to L. Septimius Mannus by council of Hither Spain.

particular reason, political or financial, must explain the rapid cessation of statue bases at Tarraco. In Hither Spain itself the *concilium* was still active in the third century (*RIT* 146; Pl. 37), so provincial priests must still have served in office even if their monuments had by now come to an end.

The sequence of the following list of priesthoods is largely based on the chronology assigned by Alföldy, whose catalogue keeps for the most part to the order of the Corpus.[80] Whereas an exact or relatively exact date can be assigned to earlier incumbents, later office-holders are roughly listed according to the lower end of the approximate span of years to which the text can be assigned; more precise datings are placed in relative order as far as possible. Texts that belong to clusters attributable to the same general period follow the order originally given by Alföldy, with which as a rule the sequence of *RIT* concurs.

xi. *Priests of Hispania Citerior*

1. [.R]aecius Tauri [*fil.* G]al. Gallus
Origin: Tarraco
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*fl*]*am. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: [*fla*]*m. imp. Vesp. Caes.* [*Au*]*g. perpetuus ex d. d.*
Imperial Career: [*trib. m*]*il. Galb. imp., quaestor provinc. Ba*[*eticae*], [*t*]*rib. pleb., praet*[*or*], *sodalis Augu*[*stalis*]
Date: *ca.* A.D. 72/73
References: *AE* (1965) 236; *RIT* 145 (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 18); Alföldy (1973) no. 59

2. C. Aemilius C. *f.* Gal. Fraterni[nus]
Origin: Aeso(?)
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)*
Imperial Career: *praef(ectus) fabr(um) II, trib(unus) mil(itum) legionis V Alauda*[*r(um)*], *hic censum egit in provinc(ia) Gallia Aquitanic(a)*
Date: A.D. 70/80
References: *CIL* 2, 4188; *RIT* 252 (Pl. 38); Alföldy (1973) no. 1

[80] *Id.* (1973) 61–97.

3. L. Post[u]mius Q. *f.* Serg. Fabull[us]
Origin: Tugia/ Salaria?
Find-Spot: Tugia
Title: [*fl*]*am*[*en*] *August*[*o*]*rum provinc. His*[*paniae cit.*]
Municipal Career: *IIvir coloniae Sa*[*l*]*ariae*
Imperial Career: [*tri*]*b. m*[*il.*] *leg. VII*
Date: A.D. 70/90
References: *CIL* 2, 3329; Alföldy (1973) no. 58; Curchin (1990) no. 881

4. M. Porcius M. *fil.* Gal. Narbonensis
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Divorum Aug. provinciae Hisp. citer.*
Imperial Career: *trib. mil. leg. XXII, praef. alae Thrac. Herclan., praef. orae maritumae*
Date: A.D. 70/96
References: *CIL* 2, 4239; *RIT* 301; Alföldy (1973) no. 55; Vol. I, 2, 272

5. Q. Licinius M. *f.* Gal. Silvanus Granianus
Origin: Tarraco / Baetulo?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: (A) *flamen Romae et Aug. provinc. Hispan. citer.*; (B) *flam. Aug. prov. Hisp. citer.*
Imperial Career: *praefectus orae maritimae* (*Laeetanae*), *proc. Augusti*
Date: A.D. 80/90
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 4225; *RIT* 288; Vol. I, 2, 272; (B) *CIL* 2, 4226; *RIT* 289; Alföldy (1973) no. 38

6. [.] Pomp[eius.] Quir. Faventinus
Origin: Asturica
Find-Spot: Asturica
Title: *fl.*] *provincia*[*e Hisp. citer.*]
Municipal Career: *sac.*] *urbis Romae*
Imperial Career: *praef. coh. VI Astur., trib. mil. leg. VI vic., pra*[*ef.*] *equitum alae* [*S*]*u*[*lp*]*ic*[*i*]*a*[*e c.*] *R., do*[*natus*] *corona aurea hasta pur*[*a vexillo ab*] *imp. Div*[*o*] *Vespasian*[*o*]
Date: A.D. 80/90
References: *CIL* 2, 2637; *AE* (1966) 187; Alföldy (1973) no. 50; Vol. I, 2, 353–60

7. L. Fonteius M. *fil.* Gal. Maternus Novatianus.
Origin: Tarraco
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *aedilicis honorib. ab ordine datus, IIvir, iudex dec. III, qua*[*est*]*or, flam. divi Vespasiani.*
Imperial Career: *iudex dec. III, equo publico donatus ab imp. Nerva Aug./ ex*[*ornatus*] *equo pu*[*blico*]
Date: A.D. 96/98
References: *CIL* 2, 6095, 4216; *RIT* 279 (Pl. 34), 278; Alföldy (1973) no. 27; Curchin (1990) no. 899

8. C. Licinius C. *f.* Gal. Marinus Voconius Romanus
Origin: (A) Saguntum
Find-Spot: (B) Saguntum
Title: *citerioris Hispaniae … flamen*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 97
References: (A) *Pliny, Ep.* 2, 13, 3ff.; (B) *CIL* 2, 3866, 3865a; *CIL* 2^2/14, 367, 366; Alföldy (1973) no. 37

9. [.] Memm[i]us [.*fil.*] Anies. Barbarus
Origin: Caesaraugusta?
Find-Spot: Asturica
Title: *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerio*[*r*]*is*
Municipal Career: *sacerdos Romae et Aug. ad Lucum Aug.*[81]
Imperial Career: *trib. mil. leg. I Ital*[*i*]*cae*
Date: A.D 70/100
References: *CIL* 2, 2638; Alföldy (1973) no. 45

[81] Priests of the *conventus*, normally with the little *sacerdos Romae et Aug.* vel sim., are included under the municipal rubric.

10. [. …]rius Q. [*fil.* Gal.?] Ḟus[c]us
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Divorum et Augustor. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *IIvir, flam. Divi Claudi*; [*or*]*do Tarraconens. honores decrevit*
Imperial Career: *praef. orae marit.*
Date: A.D. 70/120
References: *CIL* 2, 4217; *RIT* 316; Alföldy (1973) no. 73; Vol. I, 2, 272; Vol. III, 1, 159–63

11. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*fla*]*men Rom*[*ae Divorum et Augustorum*] *provi*[*nciae Hispaniae citerioris*]
Date: A.D. 70/138
References: *AE* (1990) 653

12. C. Atilius C. *f.* Quir. Crassus
Origin: *Segontinus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. prov. Hisp. citer.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honor. in re pub. sua functus*
Date: A.D. 70/150
References: *CIL* 2, 4195; *RIT* 258; Alföldy (1973) no. 7; Curchin (1990) no. 884

13. L. Caecilius L. *f.* Quirin. Caecilianus
Origin: Complutum?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Divor. et Augustorum provinciae Hispan. citerioris*
Municipal Career: *duovir ter*
Date: A.D. 70/150
References: *CIL* 2, 4199; *RIT* 262 (Pl. 39); Alföldy (1973) no. 10; Curchin (1990) no. 376

14. C. Sempronius M. *f.* Gal. Fidus
Origin: *Calogorrit.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Imperial Career: *trib. mil. leg. IIII Scythic., trib. mil. leg. VI ferr., trib. mil. leg. III Gall., trib. mil. leg. XX V. v.*
Date: A.D. 70/150
References: *CIL* 2, 4245; *RIT* 306; Alföldy (1973) no. 63

15. C. Vibius C. *f.* Gal. Latro
Origin: Sigarra
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *q., IIvir, item IIvir quinq. col. Tarrac.*
Date: A.D. 70/150
References: *CIL* 2, 4253; *RIT* 312 (Pl. 33); Alföldy (1973) no. 69; Curchin (1990) no. 891

16. [. Semp]ronius [. *f.*] Gal. [Capi?]to
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*fla*]*men* [*p.*] *H. c.*
Date: A.D. 70/150–80
References: *RIT* 305; Alföldy (1973) no. 62

17. Cn. Anto[nius] Cn. *f.* G[al]. Avitus
Origin: *Tar*[*rac.*]
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flame*[*n*] *pro*[*v. Hisp. cit.*]
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4193; *RIT* 255; Alföldy (1973) no. 4

18. L. Anṭọnius L. *f.* Gal. Saturninus
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *aed., IIvir*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4194; *RIT* 257; Alföldy (1973) no. 6; Curchin (1990) no. 905

19. L. Aufidius Masculi *f.* Celer(?) Masculinus Quir.
Origin: *Flaviaugustanus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen designatus p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4196; *RIT* 259 (Pl. 40); Alföldy (1973) no. 8

20. M. Fabius M. *f.* Gal. Maximus
Origin: *Saguntinus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4214; *RIT* 274 (Pl. 41); Alföldy (1973) no. 23

21. L. Gavius Romanus Vibius Trom. Secundus
Origin: Barcino
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen prov. Hisp. citer.*
Imperial Career: *trib. mil. leg. III Aug.*
Date: A.D 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4219, 4515; *RIT* 281; Alföldy (1973) no. 29

22. L. Grattius C. *f.* Gal. Glaucus
Origin: *Segobrigensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4220; *RIT* 282; Alföldy (1973) no. 30

23. C. Iulius C. *f.* Gal. Pila
Origin: *Segobrigensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Romae Divorum et August. prov. Hisp. citer.*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4222; *RIT* 286; Alföldy (1973) no. 33; Curchin (1990) no. 381

24. C. Marius C. *f.* Gal. Nigrinus
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Romae Divor. et August. provinc. Hispaniae citerior.*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4228; *RIT* 292; Alföldy (1973) no. 43

25. Cn. Pompeius Cn. *fil.* Gal. Pompaelonensis
Origin: Pompaelo?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: IIvir
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4234; *RIT* 297; Alföldy (1973) no. 51

26. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*fla*]*m. Divor. Aug.* [*prov.*] *Hisp. citer.*
Imperial Career: [*trib.*] *coh. XXV* [*vol*]*unt*[*a*]*riae*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4258; *RIT* 318; Alföldy (1973) no. 74

27. Florius Vegetus
Origin: Emerita?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *fl. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 70/200–250
References: *CIL* 2, 4210; *RIT* 277; Alföldy (1973) no. 26

28. C. Egnatuleius C. *fil.* Gal. Seneca
Origin: *Tarr.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *aed., q., IIvir, flam. Divi Titi*
Imperial Career: *equo pub. donatus, praef. coh. IIII Thrac. eq.*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 85/150
References: *CIL* 2, 4212; *RIT* 272; Alföldy (1973) no. 21

29. M. Valer. M. *f.* Gal. Propinquus Grattius Cerealis
Origin: *Edetanus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *cui honores civitatis suae res p. ⟨indul⟩sit*?
Imperial Career: *adlectus in equite a T. imp., praef. fabr. bis, praef. cohor. secund. Astur. in Germ., trib. leg. V Mac. in Moesia, praef. alae Prhygum* (sic) *item praef. alae III Thracum in Syr*[*ia*]
Date: *ca.* A.D 90/100
References: *CIL* 2, 4251; *RIT* 311; Alföldy (1973) no. 68; Curchin (1990) no. 780

30. […] Pollentiṇ[us]
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam*[*en prov. Hisp. citerioris?*]
Municipal Career: [*omni*]*bu*[*s honoribus in re p. sua funct.*]
Date: early imperial period
References: *RIT* 317; Alföldy (1973) no. 75

31. [C.? I]ulius C. *f.* [Qu]ir. Fidus
Origin: *Ast*[*uricensis*]
Find-Spot: Asturica
Title: *flamen des. pro. H. c.*
Municipal Career: [*s*]*acerdos Rom. et Aug.* (sc. *conventus Asturum*)
Date: 1st/2nd century
References: *CIL* 2, 5124; Alföldy (1973) no. 32

32. C. Cludius/ Cl[a]udius Recti *f.* An. Rectus
Origin: Caesaraugusta?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citer.*
Imperial Career: *praef. fabr., proc. monetae*
Date: A.D. 98/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4206; *RIT* 268; Alföldy (1973) no. 17

33. C. Calpurnius P. *f.* Quir. Flaccus
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *curator templi*, *praef. murorum*
Date: A.D 100/125, (*ca.* 122?)
References: *CIL* 2, 4202; *RIT* 264; Alföldy (1973) no. 13; Curchin (1990) no. 906

34. M. Porcius M. *f.* Aniens. Aper
Origin: Caesaraugusta?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *IIvir*
Imperial Career: *praefec. fabr., trib. milit. leg. VI ferrat., proc. August. ab alimentis*
Date: A.D 105/110
References: *CIL* 2, 4238; *RIT* 300; Alföldy (1973) no. 54; Curchin (1990) no. 505

35. L. Domitius M. *fil.* Serg. Dentonianus
Origin: Consabura
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *IIvir munic. Consaburon., flamen perpet.*
Imperial Career: *iudex dec. V, equo publico per Traian., tribun. milit. cohort. Astur. ⟨et⟩ Callaec⟨orum in⟩ Mauretan. Tingit.*
Date: A.D. 105/117
References: *CIL* 2, 4211; *RIT* 271; Alföldy (1973) no. 20; Curchin (1990) no. 664

36. L. Iunius Bl[andi?] *fil.* Quiriṇ[a] Maro Aeṃ[il.] Paternus
Origin: *Lancien.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Augustalis p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. in re publica sua honorib. functus, IIvir bis*; *sacerd. Rom. et Aug. convent. Asturum*
Imperial Career: *adlectus in quinq. decuri*[*as le*]*gitum. Romae iudicantium*
Date: A.D. 110/140
References: *CIL* 2, 4223; *RIT* 287; Alföldy (1973) no. 36; Curchin (1990) no. 769

37. C. Iulius C. *f.* Ani. Seneca Licinianus
Origin: Caesaraugusta?
Find-Spot: Barcino
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *aed., IIvir, flam.*
Imperial Career: *praef. fabr., trib. mil. leg. VI vic. p. f., tr. mil. leg. XV Apollin.*
Date: A.D. 100/150
References: *CIL* 2, 6150; Alföldy (1973) no. 34; Curchin (1990) no. 437

38. L. Numisius Cn. *f.* Ser. Laetus
Origin: Carthago Nova
Find-Spot: Carthago Nova
Title: *flamen provinc. H. c. bis*
Municipal Career: *aed., IIvir, IIvir quinq. flam. Augustor., pontif.*
Imperial Career: *praefec. cohor. Musulamiorum*
Date: A.D. 100/150
References: *AE* (1908) 149; Alföldy (1973) no. 46; Curchin (1990) no. 581

39. C. Lutatius [*. f.*] Vel. Cere[alis]
Origin: Palma? Pollentia?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p.* [*H. c.*]
Municipal Career: *IIvir III, po*[*ntif.*] *perpetuus*
Imperial Career: *iu*[*dex*] *Romae in*[*ter*] *select. de*[*cur. V ?*], *equo publ. h*[*onor.*]
Date: A.D. 100/180
References: *RIT* 290; Alföldy (1973) no. 40; Curchin (1990) no. 966

40. Q. Porcius Q. *fil.* Quir. Vetustinus
Origin: *Cantaber Iuliobrig.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*flam. p. H. c.*]
Imperial Career: *praefec. c(o)hor̩t. I Lato*[*bicorum*]
Date: A.D. 110/130
References: *CIL* 2, 4240; *RIT* 302; Alföldy (1973) no. 57

41. L. Numisius L. *fil.* Pal. Montanus
Origin: *Tarrac.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: (A) *flamen p. H. c.*; (B) *vacat*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re p. sua functus / aed., q., IIvir, item qq. IIvir*
Imperial Career: *equo publ. donatus ab imp. Hadriano Aug., iudex decur. I*
Date: A.D. 120/140
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 4231; *RIT* 295 (Pl. 32); (B) *CIL* 2, 4275; *RIT* 349 (Pl. 30); Alföldy (1973) no. 48; Curchin (1990) no. 907

42. L. Numisius L. *fil.* Pal. Ovinianus
Origin: *Tarrac.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re p. sua funct.*
Imperial Career: *tribunus c(o)hort. I Macedonicae*
Date: A.D. 120/140
References: *CIL* 2, 4232; *RIT* 296 (Pl. 42); Alföldy (1973) no. 49; Curchin (1990) no. 908

43. L. Saenius L. *f.* Gal. Iustus
Origin: Dianium
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Romae Divor. et August. provinc. Hisp. citer.*
Date: A.D. 120/140
References: *CIL* 2, 4243; *RIT* 303 (Pl. 43); Alföldy (1973) no. 60

44. Q. Herennius Q. *f.* Aniensis Aquila
Origin: Caesaraugusta
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re p. sua functus*
Imperial Career: *inter decurias iudicum Romae adlectus*
Date: A.D. 120/150
References: *CIL* 2, 6096; *RIT* 283; Alföldy (1973) no. 31; Curchin (1990) no. 506

45. L. Aemilius L. *f.* [Quir?] Paulus
Origin: *ex conven*[*t*]. *Carthag. Attacc.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flame*[*n*] *p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. in re p*[*ub.*] *sua honoribus* [*funct.*]
Imperial Career: *praef. cohort. I*[…], *trib. mil. leg. III Cyren.*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4189; *RIT* 253; Alföldy (1973) no. 2; Curchin (1990) no. 416

46. L. Annius L. *f.* Gal. Cantaber
Origin: Segobriga
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Romae et Divorum August. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus gestis Segobrigae*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4191; *RIT* 254 (Pl. 44); Alföldy (1973) no. 3; Curchin (1990) no. 883

47. L. Aufidius Q. *f.* Velina Secundus
Origin: *Palmensis*
Find-Spot: Taraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honor. in re public. sua functus*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4197; *RIT* 260; Alföldy (1973) no. 9; Curchin (1990) no. 821

48. M. Calp[urnius . *f.*] Lu[pus]
Origin: *ex conven*[*t.*] *Caesar. Ercavic.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*flam.*] *p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re publica sua functus*
Imperial Career: *praefectus cohortis primae Biturigum*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4203; *RIT* 265; Alföldy (1973) no. 14; Curchin (1990) no. 732

49. L. Clodius M. *f.* Vel. Ingenuus
Origin: *Palmensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen Romae Divor. et August. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua perfunct.*
Imperial Career: [*p*]*ra*[*ef.*] *fabrum*
Date: A.D 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4205; *ILS* 6929; *RIT* 267; Alföldy (1973) no. 16; Curchin (1990) no. 822

50. M. Cornelius Marcius M. *f.* Quir. Severus
Origin: *Vergiliens.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honor. in r. p. s. funct.*
Date: A.D 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4207; *RIT* 269; Alföldy (1973) no. 18; Curchin (1990) no. 962

51. P. Cornelius M. *f.* Gal. Verecundus
Origin: *Castulonens.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honor. in re p. sua functus*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4209; *RIT* 270; Alföldy (1973) no. 19; Curchin (1990) no. 601

52. C. Marius C. *fil.* Pal. Verus
Origin: *Gerundens.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen provinc. Hisp. citer.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honor. in re p. sua funct.*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4229; *RIT* 293; Alföldy (1973) no. 44; Curchin (1990) no. 738

53. T. Pomponius T. *f.* An. Avitus
Origin: Caesaraugusta?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Romae Divorum et Augustorum prov. Hisp. citer.*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4235; *RIT* 298; Alföldy (1973) no. 52

54. Q. Pontius Q. *f.* Quir. Severus
Origin: Brac(ara) Aug(usta)
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in r. p. sua functus*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4237; *RIT* 299; Alföldy (1973) no. 53; Curchin (1990) no. 463

55. M. Sempr. M. *fil.* Quir. Capito
Origin: *Gralliensis, adlectus in ordine Caesaraug.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in utraq. r. p. s. f.*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4244; *RIT* 304; Alföldy (1973) no. 61; Curchin (1990) no. 739

56. L. Valerius L. *f.* Gal. Propinquus
Origin: *Dianẹnsis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: (A) *flam. Romae Divor. et Aug.* [*p*]*rovinc. Hisp. citerior.*; (B) *flamen p. H. c.*; (C) *idem*
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus in r.* [*p.*] *sua functus*
Imperial Career: *adlectus in V decurias*
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 4250; *RIT* 310; (B) *CIL* 2, 3584; (C) *CIL* 2, 3585; Alföldy (1973) no. 67; Curchin (1990) no. 680

57. […]sce[… G]al. Avitus
Origin: [*Av*]*obr*[*i*]*gensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *fla*]*men A*[*ug. p. H. c.*]
Municipal Career: [*om*]*nib. h*]*onorib.* [*in re*] *pub*[*lic*]*a sua* [*fun*]*ctus*
Imperial Career: [*adl*]*ectus in* [*quin*]*que* [*decu*]*rias* [*leg*]*itum*[*e Romae iud.*]
Date: A.D. 120/180
References: *EE* 9, pp. 144–5, no. 390; *RIT* 261; Alföldy (1973) no. 72

58. Q. Fab[ius . *f.*] Gal. M[…]
Origin: *Saet*[*abitanus*]
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam.* [*p. H. c.*]
Municipal Career: *omni*[*b. honorib.*] *in re p. s*[*ua functus*]
Imperial Career: *equo p. d*[*onatus ab*] *imp. Hadrian*[*o Aug., allectus*] *in quinq. d*[*ecurias*] *ab eodem, p*[*raef. cohort*]*is primae* […]
Date: A.D. 125/138
References: *CIL* 2, 4213; *RIT* 273; Alföldy (1973) no. 22; Curchin (1990) no. 839

59. M. Flavius M. *f.* Quir. Sabinus
Origin: *Limicus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *IIvir*; *sacerdos convent. Bracari* (sic)
Date: A.D. 138/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4215; *RIT* 276; Alföldy (1973) no. 25; Curchin (1990) no. 779

60. Cn. Numisius Cn. *fil.* Serg. Modestus
Origin: *Carthag.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re p. sua functus, electus a concilio provinc. ad statuas aurandas Divi Hadriani*[82]
Date: A.D. 140/160
References: *CIL* 2, 4230; *RIT* 294; Alföldy (1973) no. 47; Curchin (1990) no. 579

61. M. Valerius M. *fil.* Gal. Aniensis Capellianus
Origin: *Damanitanus, adlectus in coloniam Caesaraugustanam ex benefic. Divi Hadriani*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Rom. Divor. et Aug. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in utraq. re p. funct.*
Date: A.D. 140/160
References: *CIL* 2, 4249; *RIT* 309 (Pl. 45); Alföldy (1973) no. 66

62. C. Vibius C. *f.* Gal. Porcianus Quintius Italicianus
Origin: *Libisosanus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in re publica sua functus*
Imperial Career: *equo p. donatus a Divo Hadriano*
Date: A.D. 140/160
References: *CIL* 2, 4254; *RIT* 313; Alföldy (1973) no. 70; Curchin (1990) no. 778

[82] For a possible similar appointment by the provincial council see no. 33 (*curator templi*).

63. L. Antonius Paterni *filius* Quir. Modestus
Origin: *Intercatiensis ex gente Vaccaeorum Cluniensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *fl. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: [*o*]*mnibus hono*[*r*]*ibus* [*in r.*] *p. sua functus*; *sacerdos Romae et Aug. ar. Augustanar.*
Date: A.D. 140/180
References: *CIL* 2, 6093, 4233; *RIT* 256, 323; Alföldy (1973) no. 5; Curchin (1990) no. 767

64. L. Fabius L. *f.* Quir. Silo
Origin: *Brigiaecinus*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *IIvir*; *sacerdos Romae et Aug. convent. Asturum*
Imperial Career: *adlectus in dec. V iud. Rom.*
Date: A.D. 140/180
References: *CIL* 2, 6094; *RIT* 275; Alföldy (1973) no. 24; Curchin (1990) no. 464

65. L. Caecilius L. C. Charitonis *fil.* Gal. [M]aecianus(?)
Origin: *Alabensis ex (conventu) Carthag.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honoribus in re p. sua functus*
Imperial Career: *eques (Romanus)*
Date: A.D 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4200; *RIT* 263; Alföldy (1973) no. 11; Curchin (1990) no. 403

66. L. Caecilius Porcianus
Origin: Segobriga
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4252; *ILS* 6941; *CIL* 2, 3119; *RIT* 328 (Pl. 46); Alföldy (1973) no. 12; Curchin (1990) no. 898

67. C. Ceraecius C. *fil.* Quir. Fuscus
Origin: *Aquifl. ex convent. Bracaraug.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*flamen p. H. c*].
Municipal Career: *omnib. h. in r. p. sua funç.*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4204, 2473; *RIT* 266; Alföldy (1973) no. 15; Curchin (1990) no. 411

68. Cn. Gavius Cn. Gavi Severi *filius* Quir. Amethystus
Origin: Balearicus Pallmensis et Guiuntanus
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*flamen p. H. c.*]
Municipal Career: *omnibus honoribus in rebus publicis suis functus*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4218; *RIT* 280; Alföldy (1973) no. 28; Curchin (1990) no. 740

69. T. Porcius Verrinus
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4242; *RIT* 326; Alföldy (1973) no. 56

70. L. Sulpicius Q. *f.* Gal. Niger Gibbianus
Origin: *Avobrigensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. Romae Divor. et Aug. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnibus in re p. sua honorib. functus*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4247; *RIT* 307; Alföldy (1973) no. 64; Curchin (1990) no. 417

71. M. Ulpius {Reburrus} C. *fil.* Quir. Reburrus
Origin: *ex (conventu) Bracaraug.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam. p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnibus h. in r. p. sua funct.*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4257, 4236; *RIT* 308, 324; Alföldy (1973) no. 65; Curchin (1990) no. 971

72. C. Virrius Fronto
Origin: *ex* [(*conventu*)] *Lucens.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4255, 4256; *RIT* 314, 315; Alföldy (1973) no. 71

73. [.] Maecius Maecianus Quirina Montanus
Origin: Mago
Find-Spot: Mago
Title: *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*
Municipal Career: *aedilicius ter., IIviratu in insula functus*
Date: A.D. 150/250
References: *CIL* 2, 3711; Alföldy (1973) no. 41; Curchin (1990) no. 799

74. [.] L[i]cinius [Spar]sus
Origin: Asturica?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen*
Date: A.D. 161/220
References: *CIL* 2, 4198; *RIT* 320; Alföldy (1973) no. 39

75. Titus Mamilius Silonis *fil.* Quir. Praesens
Origin: *Tritiens. Magal.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flamen p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in r. p. sua functus*
Imperial Career: *decurialis allectus Italicam excusatus a Divo Pio*
Date: A.D. 165/170
References: *CIL* 2, 4227; *RIT* 291; Alföldy (1973) no. 42; Curchin (1990) no. 928

76. M. Iulius Qụ[ir.] Serenianus Ad[opti]vus
Origin: *ex (conventu) Lucen*[*sium*]
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *f* [*l. p. H. c.*]
Municipal Career: *omnib. ho*[*norib.*] *in re public*[*a sua*] *functus*; *sa*[*cerdos*] *Romae et Au*[*g. con*]⟨*ventus Lucens*⟩[*ium*; (*provinciae*) *patronus*
Imperial Career: [*ad*]*lectus in qui*[*n*]*que decuri. eq*[*uitum*] *Romanor. a*[*b imp.*] *Commodo* / [*Divo*] *Commodo*
Date: A.D. 180/200
References: *EE* 8, pp. 448ff. no. 199; *AE* (1897) 100; *RIT* 284 (Pl. 31); Alföldy (1973) no. 35; Curchin (1990) no. 972

xii. *Priestesses of Hispania citerior*

77. Manlia L. *f.* Silana
Origin: Tugia? Salaria
Find-Spot: Tugia
Title: *flaminica eiusdem provinc.*
Date: A.D. 70/90
References: *CIL* 2, 3329; Alföldy (1973) no. 105

78. Baebia T. *f.* Galla
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 70/90
References: *AE* (1929) 231; *AE* (1961) 329; *HAE* 808; *RIT* 321 (Pl. 47); Alföldy (1973) no. 103

79. Fulvia M. *f.* Celera
Origin: Tarraco?
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: *flaminica perpetua col. Tarrac.*
Date: A.D. 70/150
References: *AE* (1928) 197; *CIL* 2, 4253; *RIT* 322 (Pl. 48); Alföldy (1973) no. 104

80. Pro. Nigrina
Origin: Bracara Augusta
Find-Spot: Bracara Augusta
Title: *flaminica provinciae Hisp. citerior*[*i*]*s.*
Date: A.D. 100/200
References: *CIL* 2, 2427; Alföldy (1973) no. 110

81. Porcia M. *f.* Materna
Origin: *Osicerde(n)sis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: [*fl.*] *p. H. c.*
Municipal Career: (*flaminica*) *Osicerd., Caesar*[*aug.*], *Tarrac. perpetua*
Date: A.D. 120/140
References: *CIL* 2, 4241; *RIT* 325; Alföldy (1973) no. 108

82. Paetinia Paterna Paterni *fil.*
Origin: *Amocensis Cluniens. ex gente Cantabro.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminic. p. H. c.*
Date: A.D. 140/180
CIL 2, 4233; *RIT* 323 (Pl. 35); Alföldy (1973) no. 106

83. Pomp. Maximina
Origin: *ex* (*conventu*) *Bracaraug.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flam.* (*p. H. c.*?)
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4236; *RIT* 324 (Pl. 49); Alföldy (1973) no. 107

84. Postumia Nepotiana *sive* Marcellina
Origin: *ex* [*(conventu)*] *Caesaraug. Karensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica* (*p. H. c.*?)
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4242; *RIT* 326; Alföldy (1973) no. 109

85. Val. G. V. Fidi *fil.* Fida
Origin: *Segobrig. ex (conventu) Carthag.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica* (*p. H. c.*?)
Date: A.D. 150/180
References: *CIL* 2, 4252; *RIT* 328 (Pl. 46); Alföldy (1973) no. 112

86. Aurelia Marcellina
Origin: *ex* [*(conventu)*] *Cluniens.*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica* [*p. H. c.*]
Date: A.D. 151/220
References: *CIL* 2, 4198; *RIT* 320; Alföldy (1973) no. 102

87. Sempronia Fusci f. Placida
Origin: *Pompaelonensis*
Find-Spot: Tarraco
Title: *flaminica* (*p. H. c.*?)
Date: *ca.* A.D. 172
References: *CIL* 2, 4246; *RIT* 327; Alföldy (1973) no. 111

Plate 38. Inscription of C. Aemilius Fraterninus.

Plate 39. Inscription of L. Caecilius Caecilianus.

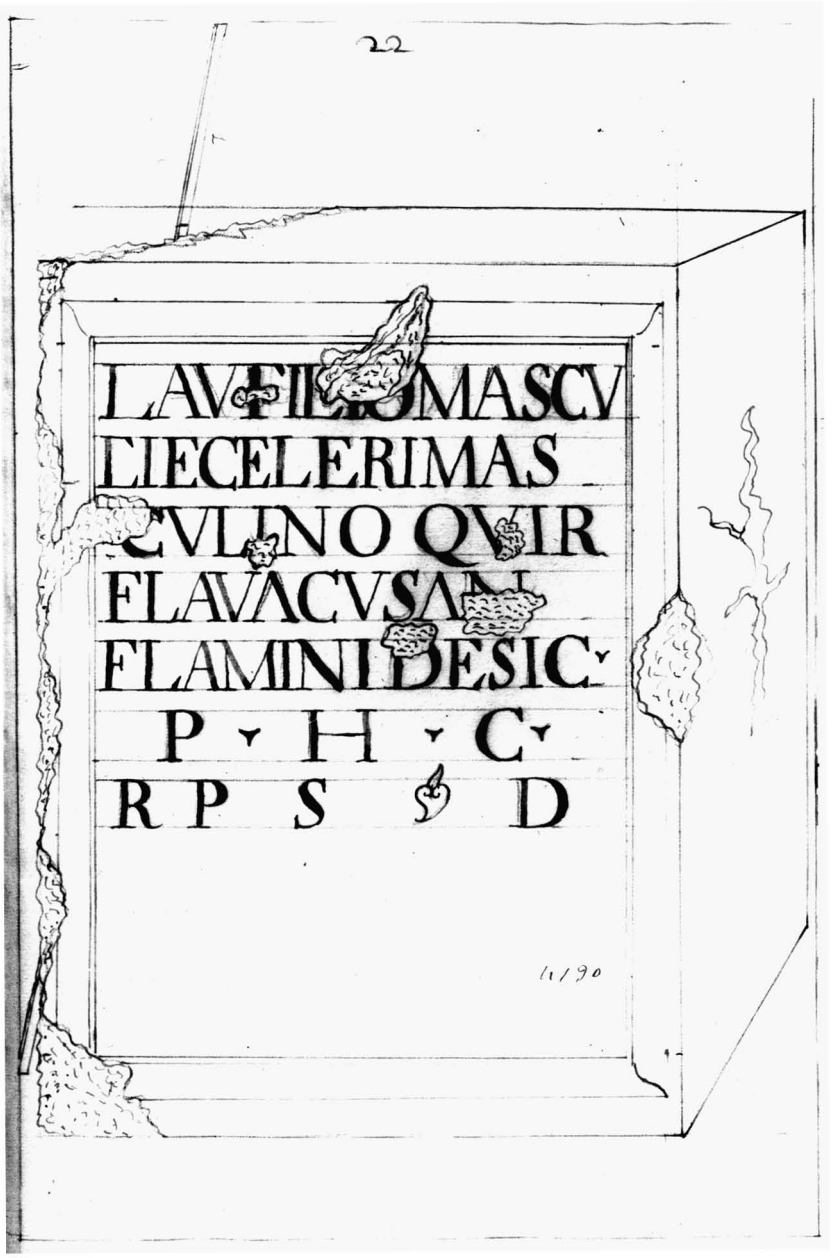


Plate 40. Inscription of L. Aufidius Celer Masculinus.

Plate 41. Inscription of M. Fabius Maximus.

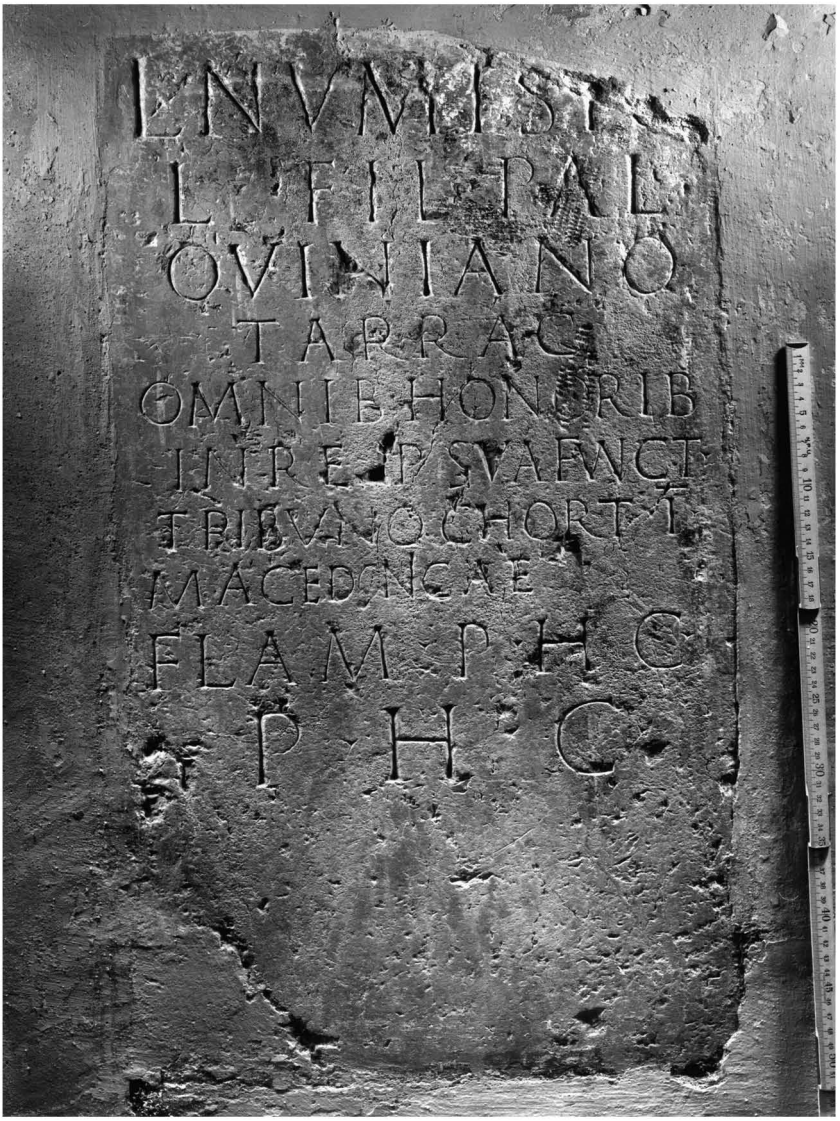


Plate 42. Inscription of L. Numisius Ovinianus.

Plate 43. Inscription of L. Saenius Iustus.

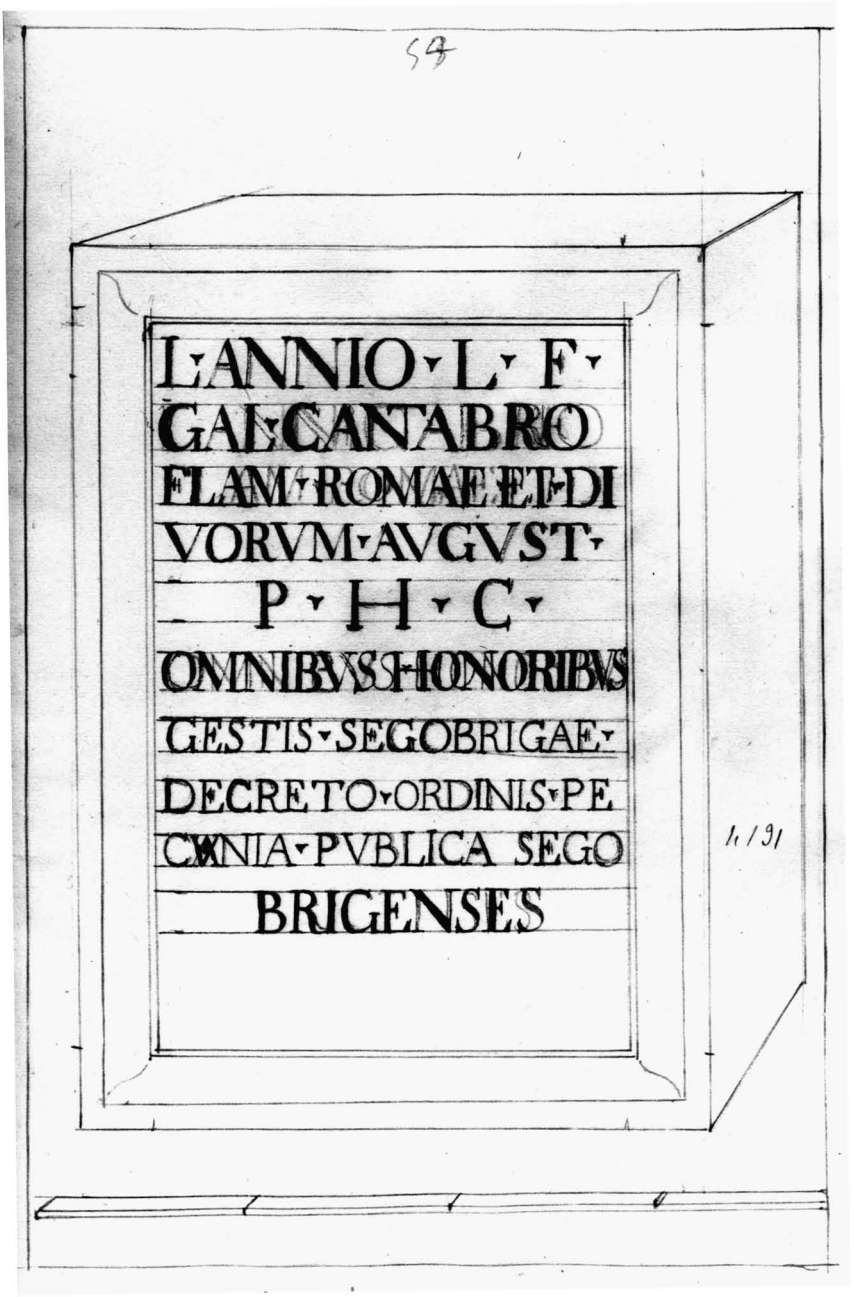


Plate 44. Inscription of L. Annius Cantaber.

Plate 45. Inscription of M. Valerius Capellianus.

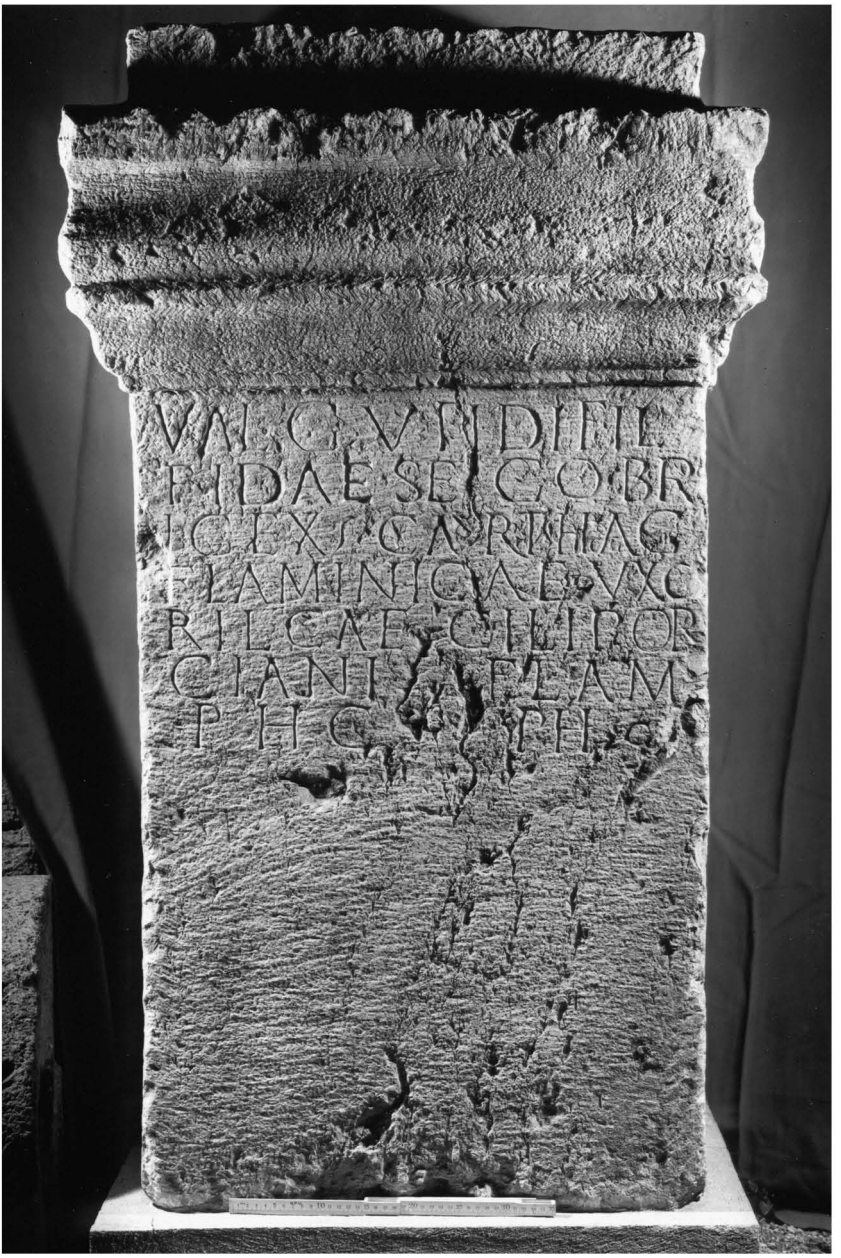


Plate 46. Inscribed base of statue set up by provincial council to Valeria Fida, provincial *flaminica* and wife of L. Caecilius Porcianus, provincial *flamen*.

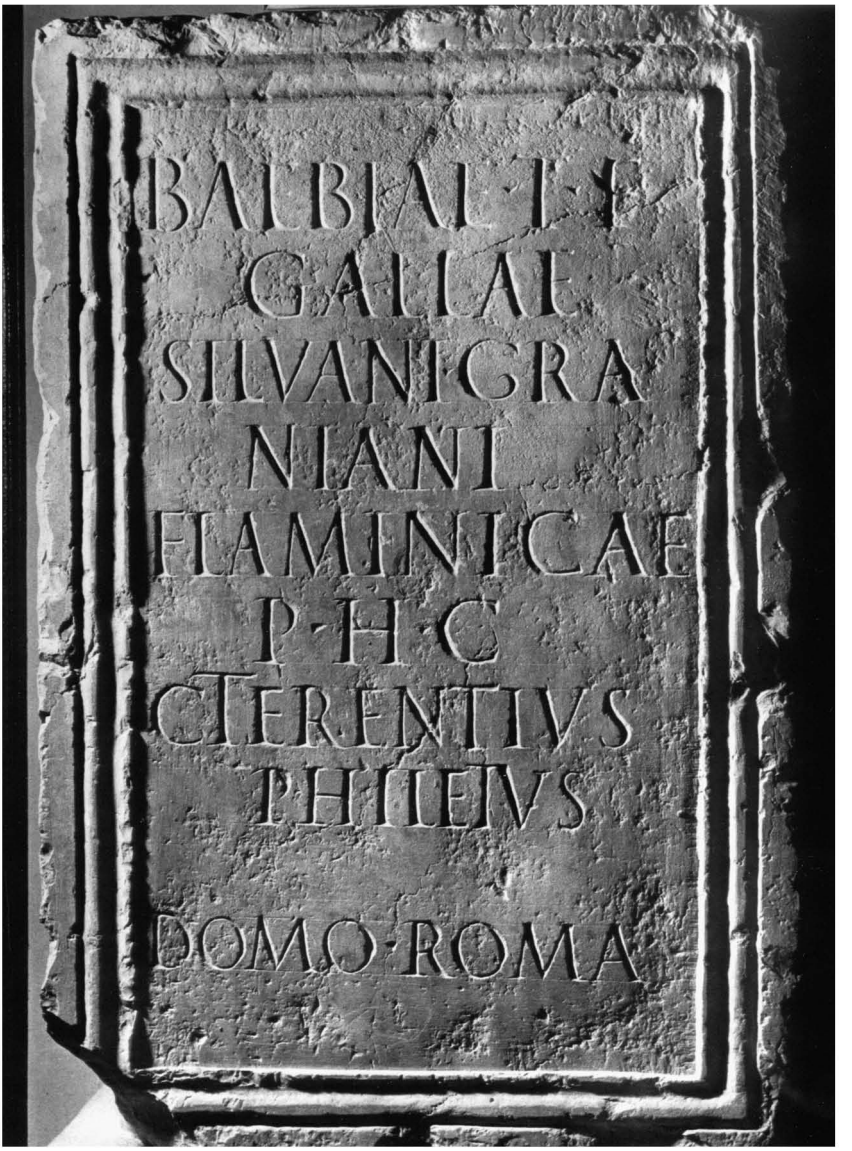


Plate 47. Inscription of Baebia Galla.

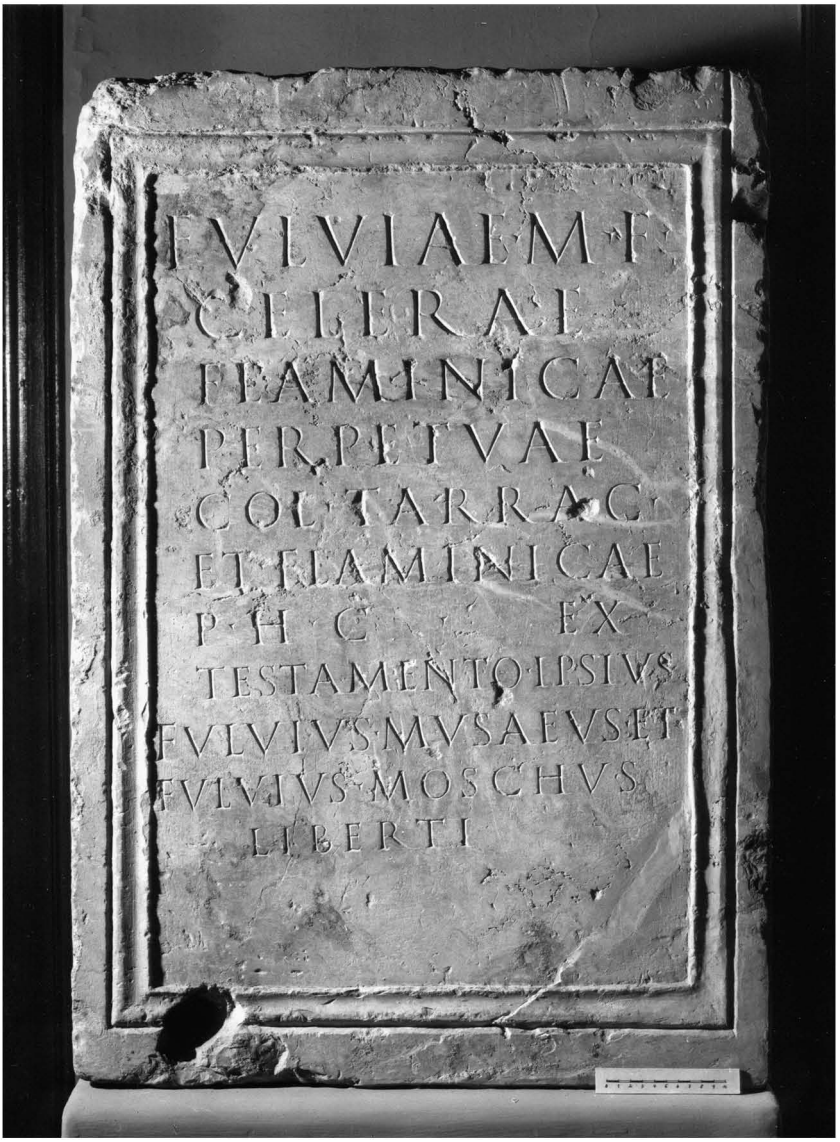


Plate 48. Inscription of Fulvia Celera.

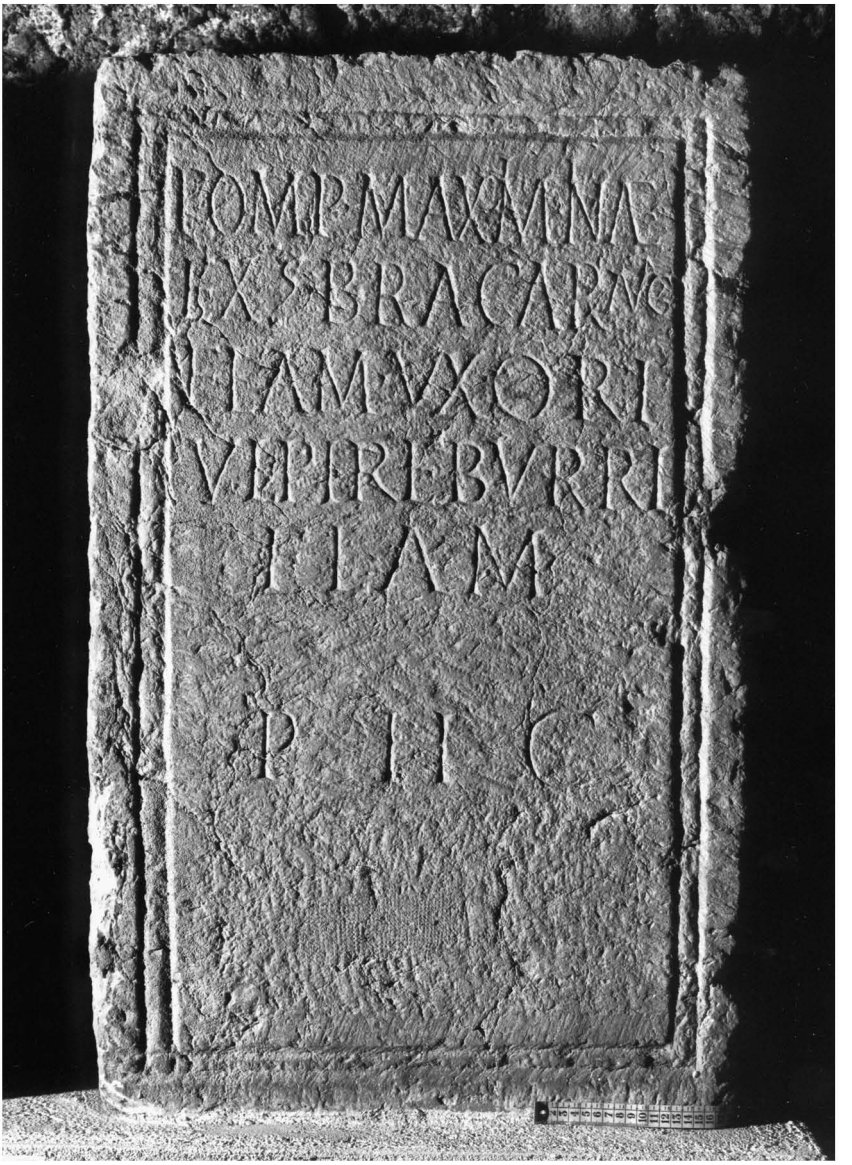


Plate 49. Inscription of Pomp(eia?) Maximina.

CHAPTER FOUR

LUSITANIA

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

Relatively few provincial priests of Lusitania are recorded,[1] a total of perhaps eleven compared with over forty in the Three Gauls and some seventy-six in Hither Spain.[2] This figure assumes that the same individual, [L.?] Cornelius Bocchus (no. 4), is attested in the two inscriptions recovered at Salacia and Caetobriga respectively (below, p. 150).[3] With no literary evidence on which one can draw, most of the surviving texts take the form of local inscriptions that were set up variously by the colony (no. 4: *AE*, 1967, 195), the local *ordo* (nos. 3, 8), the *civitas* (no. 9: Pl. 50), or the priest's wife (nos. 6, 7). Two texts are funerary inscriptions at Emerita (nos. 8, 10: Pl. 51), one is a dedication by the priest himself (no. 2: Pl. 51), and in another the priest is mentioned in connection with the dedication by the province of a small gold bust of Titus (no. 5). Of interest is that one inscription of Cornelius Bocchus (no. 4) was set up by the colony of Scalabis *ob merita in colonia*[*m*] (*CIL* 2, 35), so presumably in recognition of his benefactions, whereas C. Pompeius Priscus (no. 8: Pl. 52) was honoured on his death by a place for burial, funeral expenses, a statue and a eulogy. A further inscription, originally taken to be false, omits mention of the dedicator altogether (no. 1). While all are dedications of one sort or another, the nature of the records differs substantially in that nos. 3 and perhaps 9 are damaged statue bases, no. 8 is a broken marble plaque, no. 2 a marble dedication block,[4] and nos. 4 (both texts), 5, 6, and 7 are dedication tablets, though no. 5 may be a base. Patently the most striking feature of this body of evidence is

[1] For a list of priests see below, pp. 151–3. I am much indebted for advice and contribution of local material to J. L. De la Barrera and J. Edmondson.

[2] For previous discussion of the priesthood of Lusitania see Étienne (1958) 122–6, also Deininger's brief overview (1965) 130–1, cf. 29. For a recent list of provincial *flamines* of Lusitania see Etienne (1990) 219–21. Further discussion in Fishwick, Priesthoods (1999).

[3] Saquete (1997) 141 with n. 567.

[4] Edmondson (1997) 95.

Plate 50. Inscription of M. Cornelius Persa.

Plate 51. Inscription of Modestus.

that none were set up by the province, in notable contrast to the picture in Tres Galliae or Hispania Citerior, where the bulk of the epigraphical texts takes this particular form.

ii. *The Priestly Title*

A further difference from the epigraphic record in other provinces is that the chronological range of priesthoods begins much earlier in Lusitania. We have seen that in Tres Galliae only two provincial priests are epigraphically recorded before the Flavian period, while in Hispania citerior there are none at all until the sudden onset of inscribed statue bases about the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Lusitania differs in that a relatively full record is preserved already from the early Julio-Claudian period.

The earliest priestly title is that of L. Papirius L. *f.* (no. 1), who is styled *flamen Augustalis*. In light of the dedication he has made to Divus Augustus and the correspondence of his title with that of the priest of the deified Augustus at Rome it can hardly be doubted that the cult of Lusitania originally focussed on Divus Augustus. The inference is

Plate 52. Inscription of C. Pompeius Priscus.

confirmed by the titles of Albinus Albui *f.* (no. 2) and L.(?) Pomponius Capito (no. 3; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 5), both of whom have almost identical titles: *flamen D*[*ivi Aug. et*] *Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitan*[*iae* and [*fla*]*men provinc(iae)* [*Lusita*]*niae Divi Aug.* [*et*?] *Divae Aug* respectively.[5] These texts fall therefore in the period after the deification of Livia in A.D. 42. While the inscription of Pomponius Capito can be dated specifically to A.D. 48 by the consulships of A. Vitellius and C. Vipstanus Poplicola, the priesthood of Albinus may be no later than A.D. 54 or thereabouts if Claudius was added to the cult following his deification immediately after death.[6] No text records his inclusion in the cult but a specific reference would have created an unwieldy formula, so it may well be that about this time the provincial title dropped any mention of the content of the cult in favour of a general reference to the province. At all events the remainder of the surviving records of the priestly title give only *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae* with various abbreviations and one variant *flam. provinc.* (no. 4).

iii. *Origin and Social Background*

As in Tres Galliae and Hispania citerior, priests are drawn from across the province as a whole with representatives from each of the three *conventus*: Scallabitanus (nos. 1, 3, 5, 7), Pacensis (nos. 4, 6, 9), and

[5] On the priesthood of Albinus see Vol. III, 1, 56–9.
[6] Vol. III, 1, 59.

Emeritensis (no. 8).[7] In two(?) cases (nos. 10, ?11) information is insufficient to allow even a tentative conclusion, in another (no. 2) nothing can be gleaned from the text itself but, if the name of the priest Albinus seems common enough, especially in northern and internal Lusitania, that of his father Albuus is rare and apparently attested so far only at Norba and Conimbriga.[8] Whether Albinus himself came from either of these centres must remain conjectural. It seems clear that, as in Hispania citerior, the standing of a priest's place of origin, whether a colony or of other legal status, played no role in election to office, but lack of sufficient data excludes an analysis in depth along the lines of what is possible in Hither Spain.[9] Obviously the *conventus Scallabitanus* is prominent among surviving records of provincial high priests but this could result from the uneven survival of evidence; Conimbriga in particular could be over-represented, like Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis. All the same, both Pacensis and Scallabitanus bordered the coast in much the same way as the *conventus Tarraconensis* in Hispania citerior whereas the inland *conventus* of Emeritensis, though the site of the provincial capital, has produced only one, perhaps two high priests (nos. 8, ?10).[10] So while the picture may be distorted by the accident of survival, Lusitania would appear to resemble Hispania Citerior in that high priests were drawn first from coastal areas and only at a later stage from inland. On the other hand, the record is too thin to determine whether an origin in one of the leading towns of a *conventus* paved a priest's way to the provincial *flamonium*. Nor is it possible to tell how far family connections improved his chances, though comparison with Hispania citerior suggests that could well have been the case.[11]

---

[7] For a recent analysis of the distribution of names in Lusitania see Saquete (1997) 73–82, noting that Cornelius (nos. 4, 9), Pompeius (no. 8) and Iunius (no. 5) are common, whereas Pomponius (no. 3) is rarely represented. For a helpful map see Alföldy (2000) 16, Abb. 2.

[8] Edmondson (1997) 99–100, with n. 40 and refs.

[9] For the view that the distribution of provincial priesthoods reveals the greater vitality of *municipia* in comparison with *coloniae* see Étienne (1990) 216ff., taking colonial elites to be a transplanted population looked down on by the indigenous inhabitants of municipalities. For arguments to the contrary see Saquete (1997) 140–5.

[10] Saquete (1997) 115–17, 137–45. But [L.? Po]mponius [M. *f.*] Capito (no. 3) now looks to have served his municipal career at Scallabis.

[11] On the social elites of Emerita see in general Saquete (1997) 95ff., 137ff.

iv. *Career*

Information on incumbents prior to tenure of the provincial priesthood is likewise scarce.[12] Two, perhaps three priests (nos. 3, 10, ?11) held the post of *praefectus fabrum*, while one reached the military tribunate, evidently of the *Legio III Augusta* according to one of his inscriptions (no. 4: *CIL* 2, 5184). These are the only careers to record equestrian posts but in three instances (nos. 3, 10, 11) local offices, notably the duumvirate or perhaps the quattuorvirate, were held beforehand. On the face of it, then, there is just one example of a priest who had held only an equestrian post before the provincial flaminate (no. 4): that is, unless prior municipal offices are simply not recorded. Otherwise at least two instances occur of a mixed municipal and equestrian career (nos. 3, 10). With no priest who is enrolled on the panels of jurors, there are just two others who conform to the most numerous type in Hispania citerior, Tres Galliae and elsewhere in having pursued an entirely municipal career prior to the provincial priesthood (nos. 8, 9)—that is, if M. Cornelius Persa (no. 9) served as *patronus* of the *civitas Ossonobensis* before rather than after the provincial priesthood. It follows that almost half of the known occupants of the priesthood of Lusitania are not recorded to have held any other post at all. This must be simply a characteristic of the surviving inscriptions, as comparison with priests of other provinces strongly suggests prior tenure of municipal or equestrian posts, sometimes both. It may be noted that two of these instances (nos. 1, 2) are dedications made by the priest himself, in one case the priest is simply mentioned by name in a dedication made by the province (no. 5), in another a wife had made a dedication to Pietas in honour of her husband's *gens* and the *gens* of her parents (no. 7), while a further *titulus* was erected to her husband by the priest's wife (no. 6). Apart from in the last instance, which might have given additional details of the priest's career, a full *cursus* would not have been appropriate to the context. All in all, then, lack of information can be explained by the nature of the documents that have survived, not any peculiar career pattern on the part of provincial priests of Lusitania. Hardly surprisingly in this context, there is no trace of posts held

[12] On the background of provincial priests of Lusitania see Saquete *o.c.* 140ff.

subsequent to the provincial flaminate.[13] As in other provinces of the Latin west, the provincial flaminate normally crowned the career.

A problem that bears directly on the qualifications for the provincial priesthood is the vexed question of whether Albinus Albui *f.* (no. 2) was a Roman citizen despite his lack of the *tria nomina*. Edmondson takes the contrary view on the grounds that his Latinized native name indicates an origin in the northern half of the province, where he will have been a member of the indigenous elite, so in legal terms a *peregrinus*.[14] On this view Roman citizenship was not at this early stage a *sine qua non* for the provincial flaminate, especially in a province such as Lusitania where few towns had Roman status and Roman citizens were in short supply.

The principal argument to the contrary is that all other *flamines* from the Spanish provinces are Roman citizens, including all the known early priests of Lusitania—notably L. Papirius at Conimbriga and Pompeius Capito at Scallabis (nos. 1, 3). Provincial priests are not attested in Hispania citerior before the Flavian period and non-existent in Baetica, where the provincial cult is Flavian in origin, but in Tres Galliae there are traces of three provincial *sacerdotes* of Augustan/Tiberian date, all Roman citizens.[15] Not only are these attested with the *tria nomina* but in one of his inscriptions C. Iulius C. Iuli C[a]tuaneuni *f.* Rufus, C. Iuli Agedomo[patis] *nepos*, makes a point of stressing his Roman status by giving the entire three names of his father and grandfather (*ILA* 7),[16] while C. Iulius Congonnetodubni *f.* Volt. Victor mentions his Roman tribe, an element normally replaced in Tres Galliae by the ethnic qualification (*ILA* 18).[17] With the addition of these examples it is difficult to agree with Edmondson that the survey sample of early provincial priests is so small that one can discount the fact that Albinus would be the sole non-Roman holder of the provincial priesthood in the entire western empire. It might be added that in the Lex Narbonensis, the provisions of which appear to have been followed in Lusitania as widely

[13] For the point that Modestus (no. 10) will have served as [*flamen p*]*rovinc(iae) Lusitan(iae)* rather than *procurator p*]*rovinciae* and can hardly be identical with Iulius Modestus, as held by L. García Iglesias, see Saquete (1997) 117, 130.

[14] *Id.* (1997) 99–101. So also Le Roux (1994) 400. For previous discussion see Étienne (1958) 151 with refs. See further Saquete (1997) 131–2, 138–9 with n. 550.

[15] C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus: Livy, *Per.* 139; C. Iulius C. Iuli C[a]tuaneuni *f.* / C. *f.* Rufus: *ILA* 7, *ILTG* 217; C. Iulius Congonnetodubni *f.* Volt. Victor: *ILA* 18.

[16] For discussion of these priesthoods see Maurin (1978) 181ff.

[17] Maurin (1986) 118; Fishwick, Priesthood (1996) 416–17.

elsewhere,[18] Roman citizenship is presupposed as a condition for office rather than laid down. The precise wording of the text reads: *Si flamen in civitate des*[*ierit.* | *Si flamen in civitate esse desierit* … (lines 17–18).[19]

Against this must be balanced the indisputable fact that Albinus has included in his dedication only his *cognomen* and filiation. In itself the form *Albui f(ilius)* is hardly remarkable. If Albinus had just recently acquired Roman citizenship, his filiation could have been expressed only by means of his father's single native name without a *praenomen*. Edmondson cites four examples of this stage of nomenclature in Lusitania,[20] and to these can be added the records of two priests of Tres Galliae at Mediolanum: C. Iulius Congonnetodubni *f.* Victor (*ILA* 18) and C. Iulius Rufus, Epotsorovidi *pron(epos)* (*ILA* 7). As for the single *cognomen* Albinus, instances are common enough where provincial *flamines* in the Spains lack elements of their Roman name, often the filiation,[21] occasionally the *praenomen*.[22] It would appear that names are sometimes incomplete when they already appear on an adjacent monument,[23] so some explanation along these lines, if not simply insufficient space on the stone, might theoretically account for the shortened form Albinus. Nevertheless the fact remains that none of these examples matches the case of Albinus, who omits not only his *praenomen* but also his *gentilicium*. Even if these were given in full on an adjacent monument, one would have thought that pride in his newly acquired Roman citizenship would have required their inclusion, the *gentilicium* above all, particularly in a dedication by a provincial priest to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta.[24] This key point is an argument so strong that on balance one can only conclude that Albinus is after all a glaring exception to the rule, in which case Edmondson is right in supposing that we have here one example in the Latin west of a provincial priest who is not a Roman citizen.[25] If so, his presumed origin in an outlying part of the province

[18] Vol. III, 1, 167–9.

[19] For commentary see Williamson (1987) 187; further above, 10–12.

[20] *Id.* (1997) 100, n. 44 with refs.

[21] For example *CIL* 2, 160, 396, 4242, 5264 (Lusitania); 983, 1475, 2344 (Baetica); 2637, 3395, 3711, *RIT* 277, 281, 284, 314, 315, 320, 324, 326, 328 (Hispania citerior).

[22] Cf. *RIT* 277. For absence of the tribe see for example *CIL* 2, 35, 41* (Lusitania); 1614, 1475, 2344 (Baetica); 3395, *RIT* 265, 277, 285, 289, 314, 315, 328 (Hispania citerior).

[23] Étienne (1958) 151, citing *CIL* 2, 4225–6.

[24] Kindly noted by G. Di Vita-Evrard.

[25] For a similar instance in Lower Moesia see the priesthood of [Ti]b(erius) Vitales (*ISeM* 5, 194); below, pp. 285–6.

at a time before Vespasian introduced Latin rights throughout Spain may explain a *hapax* that continues to puzzle.

v. *The Provincial Priestess*

The title of the priestess is *flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae* or slight variant. Her office, which was undoubtedly designed to serve deified female members of the imperial house (cf. *AE*, 1966, 183), must have come into existence after A.D. 54 as up to that time Diva Augusta was served by a *flamen*. That the priesthood is Flavian in origin is not deducible from the inscriptions but two priestesses, Domitia Proculina (no. 12) and Flavia Rufina (no. 13) bear names that patently point in that direction.[26] As is the case with provincial priests, there survives no dedication that was set up by the province to a provincial priestess, in contrast once again to the picture in Hither Spain. In fact, if one omits the vanished inscription of Val(eria) Viniciana (*CIL* 2, 494), surely a municipal priestess as her qualification *perpetua* shows, the provincial capital of Emerita has produced only a record from the vicinity of the so-called Casa Romana of the amphitheatre (no. 14: Pl. 53); the formula *h(ic)* [*s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*], largely restored though it is, confirms that this was erected to Helvia M. [*f.*] on her death.[27] Two other texts are likewise of a funerary nature, a text set up by her mother to Calchisia, to other departed dear ones, and to herself (no. 15),[28] and a dedication to Liberia Galla, who by decree of the decurions of Colippo was granted funeral expenses, a place of burial and a statue, the costs of which look to have been supported by her husband (no. 16: *CIL* 2, 339). A local inscription was presumably set up by an Albinus to his wife Servilia (no. 17), five *liberti* have erected a memorial to Laberia Galla (no. 16: *CIL* 2, 114), in one instance the priestess Flavia Rufina herself made a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (no. 13), and no dedicator is mentioned in an inscription honouring Domitia Proculina (no. 12).

---

[26] Saquete (1997) 133.

[27] Velazquez (1988) 126.

[28] According to the revision of Mendes de Almeida-Bandeira (1969) the figure *II* seems to appear after *flam.* | *prov. Lusit.*, immediately before *fil.* The editors of *AE* (1969–70) 214 take this to indicate the repetition of the priesthood: *flam(inis) pro(vinciae)* (sic) *Lusit(aniae)*, but comparison with other records shows that the reference must be to the office of *flaminica* held by Calchisia, not a provincial priesthood of her father Gaius. As a second term as provincial *flaminica* is nowhere attested, it seems preferable to understand *it(em)* as proposed by Hübner; cf. *CIL* 2, 32 (no. 13): … *fla*|*minica provinc.* | *Lusitaniae item col.* | *Emeritensis perpet.* | *et municipi Salacien.* | *d. d.* … .

Plate 53. Inscription of Helvia.

Nothing in these texts goes to show that a *flaminica* was the wife of the provincial *flamen* as no record connects any *flamen* of Lusitania with a *flaminica*. The inscription of the priestess Calchisia (no. 15) refers to her husband but omits to mention his very probable provincial *flamonium*; conversely Julia Modesta, wife of the provincial priest Sextus Aponius Sceavus Flaccus (no. 7), is not said to be a provincial *flaminica* herself. Comparison with evidence in other provinces, notably Hispania citerior (above, p. 97), supplies the only guide line on this question. What is at any rate clear is that Servilia, L. *f.* Albini (no. 17) cannot be the daughter of Albinus Albui *f.* (no. 2), who supposedly received Roman

citizenship by virtue of his service as provincial *flamen*.[29] As Edmonson rightly observes, the genitive *Albini* rather indicates Servilia was the *wife* of Albinus,[30] an interpretation supported by a second inscription on the side of the same stone attesting Lucceia Q. *f.* Albina Terentiani (*CIL* 2, 195b). Equally, Servilia L. *f.* Albini cannot be the wife of the Albinus who made a dedication to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta under Claudius. As the provincial *flaminica* tended the cult of deified females, Diva Augusta would in that case have been served in the Claudian period by both a *flamen* and a *flaminica*, which is impossible. The husband of *Servilia L. f.* must therefore be some other individual who bore the same, comparatively common *cognomen*.[31]

Whether Calchisia (no. 15) held office twice depends on a doubtful reading[32]—a second term as provincial priestess looks unprecedented—but several women did hold local office, even though a *flaminica* had no prospect of a full career. Domitia Proculina (no. 12) was not only the first priestess in her municipality but was granted the honorary title of *perpetua*, perhaps after rather than before her provincial office.[33] Similarly Laberia Galla (no. 16: *CIL* 2, 114) was priestess of the *municipium* of Ebora, while Flavia Rufina (no. 13) was *flaminica perpetua* of the colony of Emerita, her *patria*, but also *flaminica* of the *municipium* of Salacia, where her inscription was found; conceivably she married a provincial *flamen* from Salacia. The fact that Domitia Proculina was *prima et perpetua* and Flavia Rufina held office in two centres says something of the distinction of these women, as does the possibility that the Helvia who was buried at Emerita belonged to one of the great families of Lusitania and Baetica.[34] As for the background of provincial *flaminicae*, the Helvii evidently belonged to Emerita and an origin in the provincial capital is clearly documented in the case of Flavia Rufina. Of the rest three came

[29] Etienne (1958) 166.

[30] Edmondson (1997) 100, n. 42.

[31] Edmondson, *o.c.* 99, nn. 38–9 with refs. It follows that the inscription of Albinus Albui *f.* cannot be brought into relation with that of Servilia L. *f.* Albini so as to give Albinus Albui *f.* the *tria nomina* Q. Lucceius Albinus, a kinship proposed by S. Lefebvre at the *Table-ronde, Les Élites hispano-romaines, Ausonius Maison de l'Archéologie*, 18–19 déc., 1998 (information kindly supplied by J. L. de la Barrera). As provincial *flaminica*, Servilia L. *f.* Albini must belong to a period (Flavian or later) subsequent to the Claudian(?) priesthood of Albinus Albui *f.*

[32] Above, n. 28.

[33] This could be implied by *et*; cf. Porcia Materna in Hither Spain (no. 81: *RIT* 325).

[34] Velazquez (1988) 126ff. For the concentration of the *gens Helvia* in the vicinity of Emerita and along the valley of the Baetis see Saquete (1997) 79.

from the inland centres of Ebora (nos. 15, 16) and Caesarobriga (no. 12), one from Olisipo by the coast (no. 17), but surviving records are too few to demonstrate trends.

vi. *Provincial Officials*

Just as in Hispania citerior there is no trace of any functionary in the service of the provincial council of Lusitania, once again in striking contrast to the picture in Tres Galliae. A freedman *tabularius* of the province attested at some unknown location in Emerita (*CIL* 2, 485–6, cf. 3235: Mentesa Oretanorum) must be a subordinate employee of the imperial administration, but a link with the provincial *concilium* looks probable in the light of evidence at Tarraco, where the archivist C. Valerius Arabinus (*RIT* 333) was honoured with a statue *inter flaminales viros positam* on the provincial forum of Hither Spain, the possible site of the archive in which he kept records of the census. It seems quite possible that the council of Lusitania drew on the parallel services of a book-keeper, especially when the federal centre by Lugdunum had its own *tabularius Galliarum*. The provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania, in contrast, compare with Lusitania in having their own *tabularius* (*CIL* 2, 3235 = *ILS* 1555).[35]

vii. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

Only a rough outline is possible on the basis of present records, though nos. 3 and 5 are precisely datable and nos. 1 and 2 are in all probability Julio-Claudian. It seems clear from nos. 1–3 that an original cult of Divus Augustus was widened to include the deified Livia after A.D. 42 but later development is obscured by the circumstance that at some stage later than A.D. 48 (no. 3) the priestly formula begins to omit all reference to the content of the cult. Indirect evidence for the incorporation of the living emperor from the early Flavian period looks nevertheless to be provided by no 5. The eight examples of *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae* or slight variant defy closer dating at present, but Saquete dates no. 8 to the first century and Etienne dates nos. 9 and 8 to the first century and the first half of the second century respectively.[36] On the other hand the names of two *flaminicae* point to the Flavian period

[35] Bérard (1992) 13–14.

[36] Saquete (1997) 117 with n. 434; Étienne (1990) 220.

(nos. 12, 13), the single text from Emerita (no. 14) has been assigned to the Flavian-Antonine period, and a fourth (no. 15) was dated by Hübner to the middle of the second century on the basis of its letter forms. Only two priestesses (nos. 16, 17) escape approximate dating therefore.

viii. *Priests of Lusitania*

1. L. Papirius L. *f.*
Origin: Conimbriga?
Find-Spot: Conimbriga
Title: *flamen Augustalis pro*[*v*]*inc. Lu*[*s*]*ita*[*n*]*i*[*ae*]
Date: before A.D. 42?
References: *CIL* 2, 41*; *Fouilles de Conimbriga*, II, no. 75; *Historia* 31 (1982) 249–52; Vol. I, 1, 164

2. Albinus Albui *f.*
Origin: Conimbriga? Norba Caesarina?
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: *flamen D*[*ivi Aug. et?*] *Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitan*[*iae*]
Date: A.D. 42–54?
References: *CIL* 2, 473; *AE* (1946) 201; *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997) 89–105; *AE* (1997) 777b

3. [L.? Po]mponius [M. *f.*] Capito
Origin: Scallabis
Find-Spot: Scallabis
Title: [*fla*]*men provinc.* [*Lusita*]*niae Divi Aug.* [*et?*] *Divae Aug.*
Municipal Career: *ii*[*vir*] *col. Aug. I[(ul.) S.?*], [*flam*]*en col. Aug. I*[*(ul) S.?*]
Imperial Career: [*pr*]*ae. fabrum*
Date: A.D. 48
References: *AE* (1966) 177; *ILER* 5540 (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 5); Curchin (1990) no. 333; *HEp* 4 (1994) 1084; *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997) 94, n. 21, 102, n. 51; *IRScallabis* 11

4. [L. ?] C[orn]elius C. [*f.*] Bocchus
Origin: Salacia?
Find-Spot: (A) Salacia; (B) Caetobriga
Title: (A) [*fl*]*am. pro*[*v*]*inc.*; (B) [*flamin*]*i provinc.*
Imperial Career: *tr. mil./* [*tr.*] *mil. leg. III Aug.*
Date: Claudius?
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 35; *AE* (1967) 195; *ILER* 1562; *IRCP* 185; cf. *AE* (1996) 840;[37] (B) *CIL* 2, 5184; *ILER* 1561; *IRCP* 205

5. M. Iunius Latro
Origin: *Conimbricesis*
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae*
Date: A.D. 77
References: *CIL* 2, 5264; *ERAE* 62; *ILER* 1082 (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 19); Étienne–Fabre–Lévêque (1976) no. 34

6. C. Iul. Vegetus
Origin: Ammaia
Find-Spot: Ammaia
Title: *flamen provinci*[*a*]*e Lusitani*[*a*]*e*
References: *CIL* 2, 160; *ILER* 5518; *IRCP* 617

7. Sex. Aponius Scaevus Flaccus
Origin: Bobadela
Find-Spot: Bobadella
Title: *flamen provinc. Lusit.*
References: *CIL* 2, 396; *ILER* 463

8. C. Pompeius L. *f.* Pap. Priscus
Origin: Emerita
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: *flam. pr. Lusit.*
Municipal Career: *flam. col., IIvir*
References: *AE* (1967) 187; *HAE* 2358; *ILER* 6404; *ERAE* 112 (Pl. 52); Curchin (1990) no. 335

[37] Whether *AE* (1985) 449–50 (Alcácer do Sal) also refer to L. Cornelius C. f. Bocchus of Salacia is uncertain. The attribution of *CIL* 2, 2479, 5617 (= *IRCP* 189, 188) is similarly unclear; Hübner assigns these to Aquae Flaviae rather than Salacia.

9. M. Cornelius Q. *f.* Gal. Persa
Origin: Ossonoba
Find-Spot: Ossonoba
Title: *flamen provinciae Lysitani.* (sic)
Municipal Career: *civitatis Ossonob. patronus*
References: *IRCP* 7 (Pl. 50)

10. […] M. f. Ser. Modestus
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: [*flamen.? p*]*rovinc. Lusitan.*
Municipal Career: *f*]*lamen Divi Aug.*, [*I*]I*vir*
Imperial Career: *praef. fabr.*
References: *ERAE* 108, cf. p. 26 (Pl. 51); Curchin (1990) no. 348

11. Ignotus[38]
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: *flamen.? prov*]*inciae Lusitania*[*e*
Municipal Career: *IIII*?]*vir bis, IIvir*
Imperial Career: *praef.* [*fabr.*?
References: *CIL* 2, 493, cf. p. 52; *ERAE* 111; Curchin (1990) no. 334

ix. Priestesses of Lusitania

12. Domitia L. *f.* Proculina
Origin: Casesarobriga
Find-Spot: Caesarobriga
Title: *f*]*laminica provin*[*c*]*. Lusitan.*
Municipal Career: *flam.* [*m*]*unicipi sui prim*[*a*] *et perpetua*
Date: Flavian
References: *CIL* 2, 895

[38] A fragmentary Trajanic inscription dated to the 130th year of the Colonia Augusta Emerita comes from the theatre of Mérida and attests a *sacrarium Larum et imaginum* along with a possible reference to a *flamen.? provi*]*nciae Lusit*[*aniae*. As the priesthood depends on a restoration and does not form part of a *cursus*, it is best omitted from the list of provincial *flamines*. For discussion see Trillmich (1989–90) 91ff.; *id.*, Fiktion (1993) 122, n. 24; Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 177–8. The same point holds for a fragmentary new inscription found at Mérida, whether a record of provincial or municipal cult is impossible to say: Edmondson (1997) 89–90.

13. Flavia L. *f.* Rufina
Origin: *Emeritensis*
Find-Spot: Evora?[39]
Title: *flaminica provinc. Lusitaniae*
Municipal Career: (*flaminica*) *item col. Emeritensis perpet. et municipi Salacien.*
Date: Flavian
References: *CIL* 2, 32; *ILER* 49; *IRCP* 183

14. Helvia M. [*f.*]
Origin: Emerita
Find-Spot: Emerita
Title: *flamin. provinc.* [*Lusitaniae*]
Date: Flavian-Antonine?
References: *AE* (1987) 396 (Pl. 53)

15. […] G. *f.* Calchisia
Origin: Ebora
Find-Spot: Ebora
Title: *flam. prov. Lusit.* ?*II*
Date: mid-second century
References: *CIL* 2, 122, 5189; *AE* (1969–70) 214

16. Laberia L. *f.* Galla[40]
Origin: Ebora
Find-Spot: (A) Ebora; (B) Collippo
Title: (A) *flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae*; (B) *flaminica prov. Lusitaniae*
Municipal Career: *flaminica munic. Eborensis*
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 114; *ILER* 5525; (B) *CIL* 2, 339; *ILER* 1774

17. Servilia L. *f.* Albini
Origin: Olisipo
Find-Spot: Olisipo
Title: *flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae*
References: *CIL* 2, 195a; *ILER* 1660

[39] According to Moreno de Vargas (1633) 81, the inscription of Flavia Rufina was found at Mérida. Subsequent authors believe the stone comes from Evora, Portugal: cf. Fernándes y Pérez (1856) 61–2; Forner y Segarra (1893) 98–9 with earlier refs. Information kindly suppied by J. L. de la Barrera.

[40] On the authenticity of the epigraphical record see Étienne (1990) 221, nn. 25–6.

CHAPTER FIVE

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

Despite the central importance of the Lex Narbonensis, not the slightest evidence has so far emerged to attest the operation of the law in Narbonensis itself.[1] In direct contrast to the situation at Lugdunum or Tarraco, where very numerous statues to past priests were set up by the provincial council, Narbo has failed to produce a single record of this kind.[2] The absence of such traces at the provincial sanctuary can be plausibly explained by the circumstance that the site was built over before excavations could begin, perhaps also to some extent by the great fire that overtook the city in the second century A.D.[3] Even so, it is striking that no sign of provincial regulations is observable in the inscribed bases of statues to provincial priests which occur elsewhere in the province. This is especially remarkable given that in Baetica, for example, the same regulations are plainly followed in provincial dedications at Corduba, where the role of the *concilium* is very explicit, but also reflected locally at Mellaria, well away from the provincial centre.[4] Similarly in Proconsularis, where no statues raised by the province are extant, local statues erected by municipal or colonial authorities conform to similar provisions, though without mention of the assembly's agreement.[5] Presumably the lack of comparable evidence in Narbonensis is attributable to the fact that inscribed monuments were for the most part set up privately by individuals or groups rather than by the

[1] Pflaum (1978) 108; Gayraud (1981) 404.

[2] For a list of priests see below, pp. 183–5.

[3] Gauraud observes *ibid.* that the reverse hold true of the site of the Capitolium, where the fact that intensive exploration has failed to produce any relic of provincial priests confirms that this structure cannot be the lost provincial temple.

[4] Vol. I, 2, 220, citing *CIL* 2, 2344 (= *CIL* 2^2/7, 799); Vol. III, 1, 119–26.

[5] Cf. *CIL* 8, 14611; *ILAfr* 458 + *AEpig* (1964) no. 177; *CIL* 8, 12039 = *ILS* 6812. For discussion see Vol. I, 2, 262, 220–1; Vol. III, 1, 130.

officials of a city, who might have been more inclined to copy the formula prescribed at the provincial centre.

What little evidence we do have takes the form of epigraphical texts that are mostly found in the *patria* of a provincial priest or wherever he happened to finish his career. Only rarely do the local authorities of a city appear in the dedication. A notable exception is the honorific text preserved on two inscribed statue bases which the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of the Six Hundred and the Athenian *demos* set up on the Acropolis of Athens in honour of Q. Trebellius Rufus (no. 1; Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLV; below, p. 176, fig. 1). To these can now be added an almost identical text on a stele found in the Agora, which also records in smaller script two honorific letters that were sent to these bodies by the provincial council of Narbonensis and by the magistrates and town council of Tolosa (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLVI; Vol. III, 1, pp. 102–3, fig. 2);[6] presumably the letters were drafted in Latin then translated locally into Greek. In Narbonensis itself a pedestal was dedicated by the decurions of Nîmes, perhaps on the demand of the people, to Q. Soillius Valerianus (no. 5: Pl. 54),[7] but otherwise all the surviving monuments are of private character: a second pedestal honouring Soillius Valerianus set up at Nîmes by the inhabitants of Apt to their patron (no. 5: Pl. 55); two dedications at Nîmes to M. Cominius Aemilianus by the Vocontii, perhaps to their patron (no. 3: Pl. 56), and by the *severi Augstales corporati* to their patron (no. 3: Pl. 57);[8] a dedication to Q. Solonius Severinus at Nîmes set up by the inhabitants (*civitas*) of Fréjus to their patron (no. 6: Pl. 58);[9] a stone base again at Nîmes to L. Sammius Aemilianus erected by the freedman L. Sammius Maternus *archiereus synhodi*, president of a Dionysiac association of actors and musicians who gave scenic games, quite possibly in connection with the celebrations of the imperial cult (no. 4: Pl. 59).[10]

---

[6] Pflaum (1978) 103–5 with bibl.; Gayraud (1981) 397–9; Vol. I, 2, 240–1 with refs. See further Fishwick, Knight (1998) 83ff. The inscription from the Agora mentions two members of the family of Trebellius Rufus, his wife (?) and his son, in addition to the details of his career known from the inscribed bases placed on the Acropolis (*IG* 2^2, 4193a, b).

[7] Pflaum (1978) 99–100; Gayraud (1981) 402; Burnand (1975) 775–9.

[8] Pflaum (1978) 99; Gayraud (1981) 400–1; Burnand (1975) 764–9.

[9] Pflaum, *o.c.* 231; Gayraud, *o.c.* 402–3; Burnand, *o.c.* 779–82.

[10] Pflaum, *o.c.* 238; Gayraud, *o.c.* 401–2; Burnand, *o.c.* 769–73 with n. 3; Christol (1992) 60, n. 25. For the Dionysiac artists at Nîmes see Vol. II, 1, 584.

Plate 54. Inscription of Q. Soillius Valerianus.

At Ruscino the inscription of Pompeius (no. 2) is too fragmentary to yield any relevant information,[11] while at Narbo itself the only trace of a provincial priest takes the form of a taurobolic altar recording the rite performed in the name of the province for the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla by C. Batonius Primus (no. 7), *flamen Augg.*.[12] On the other hand a stone at Rome attests that Sex. Attius Atticus (no. 8) from Vienne served as provincial priest, following a full municipal career; whether he held any office at Rome, where he was evidently living at the time, is unclear as no further function is recorded.[13] To these records can be added the inscription of]a Iullina (no. 9) from Sales by Rumilly, Haute Savoie, recording simply her name and function as provincial *flaminica* but without reference to the dedicator. Given the find-spot of her inscription, she may likewise have originated from Vienne.[14]

[11] Gayraud, *o.c.* 400; Pflaum, *o.c.* omits mention.
[12] Pflaum, *o.c.* 106–7; Gayraud, *o.c.* 403.
[13] Pflaum, *o.c.* 106; Gayraud, *o.c.* 404.
[14] Pelletier (1984) 100; cf. Spickermann (1994) 192.

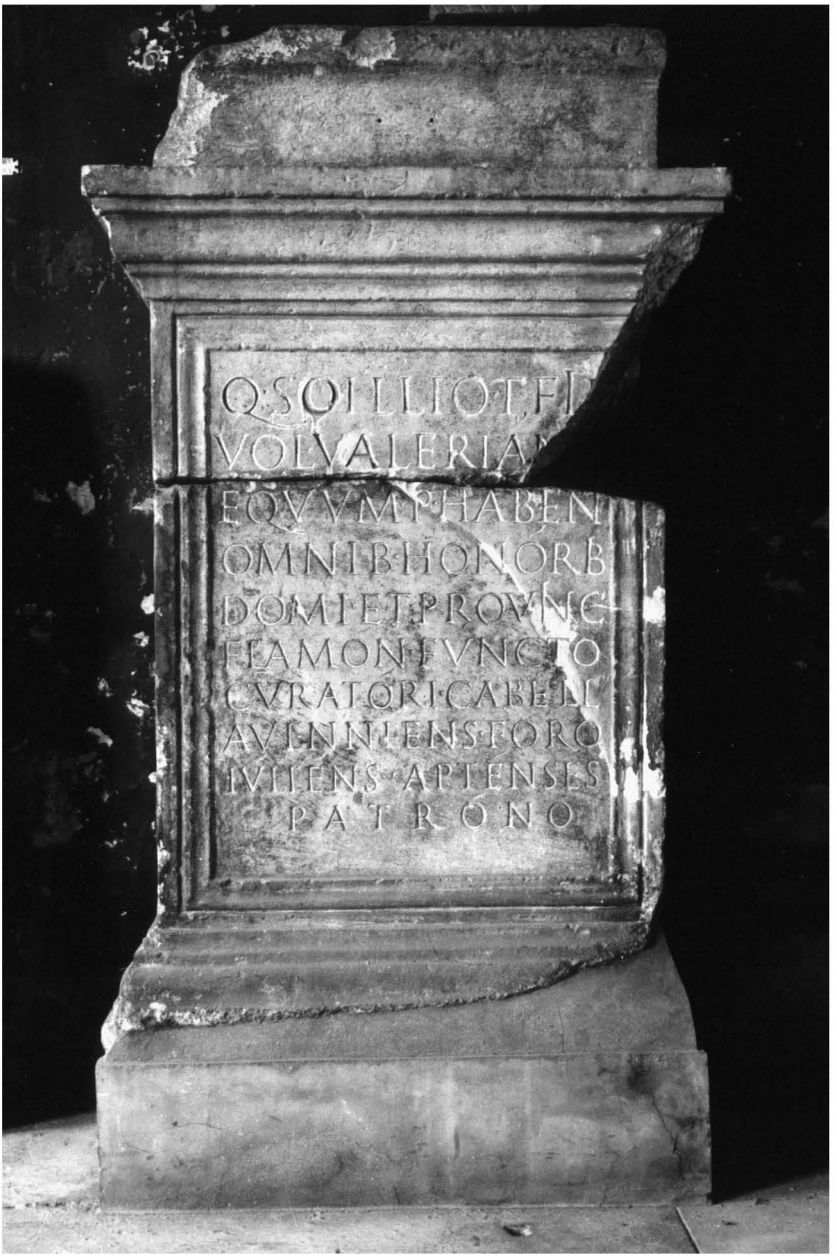


Plate 55. Inscription of Q. Soillius Valerianus.

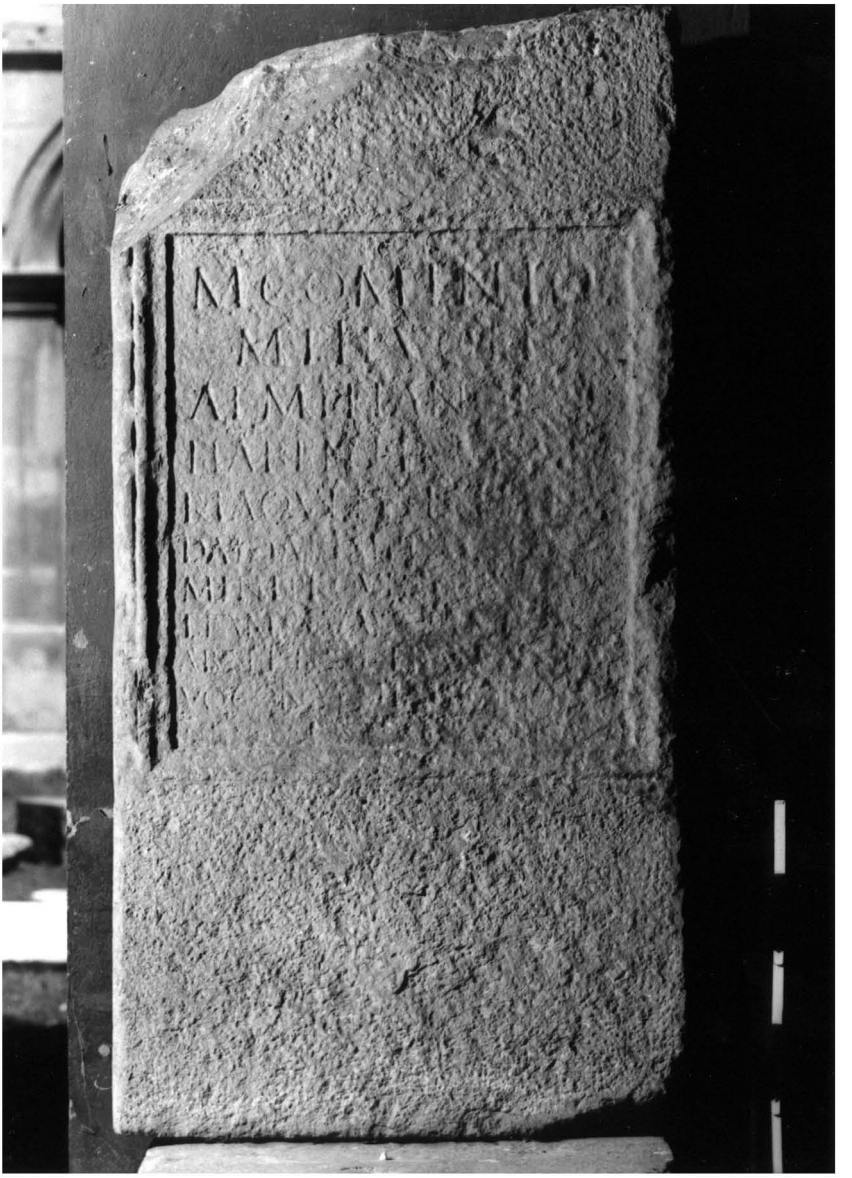


Plate 56. Inscription of M. Cominius Aemilianus.

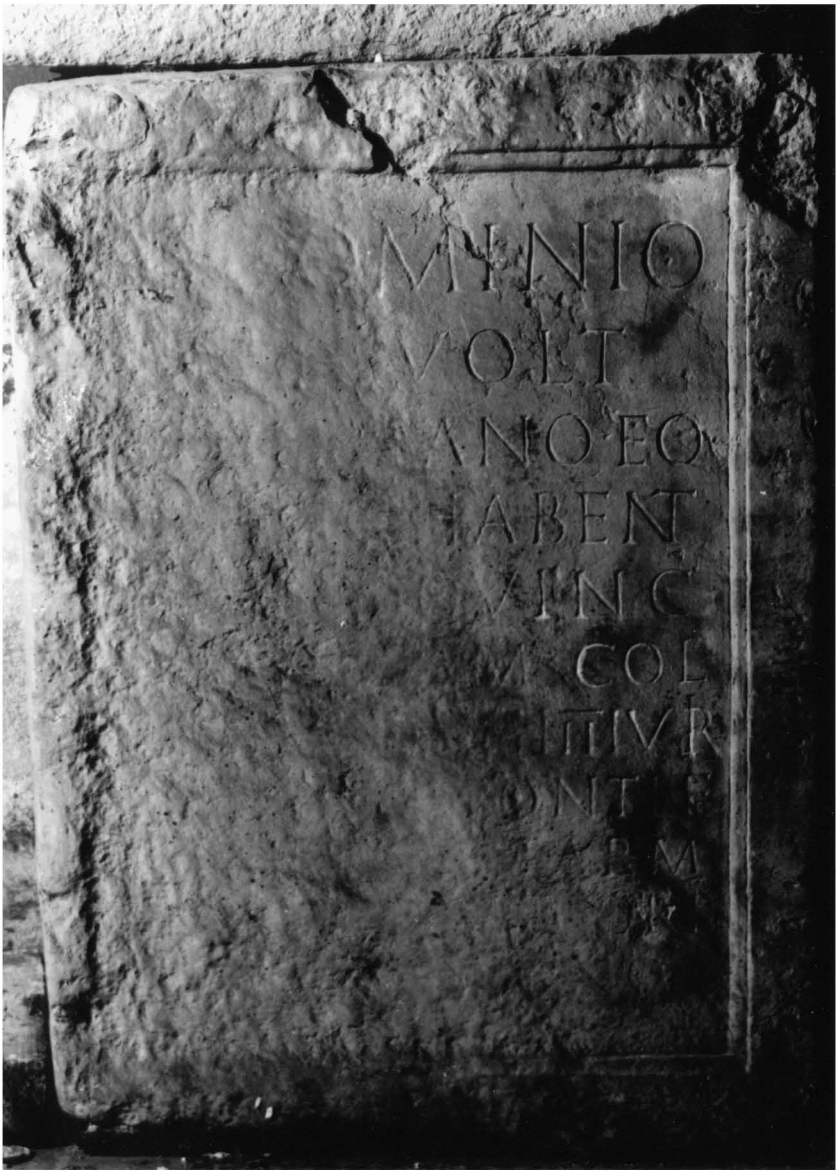


Plate 57. Inscription of M. Cominius Aemilianus.

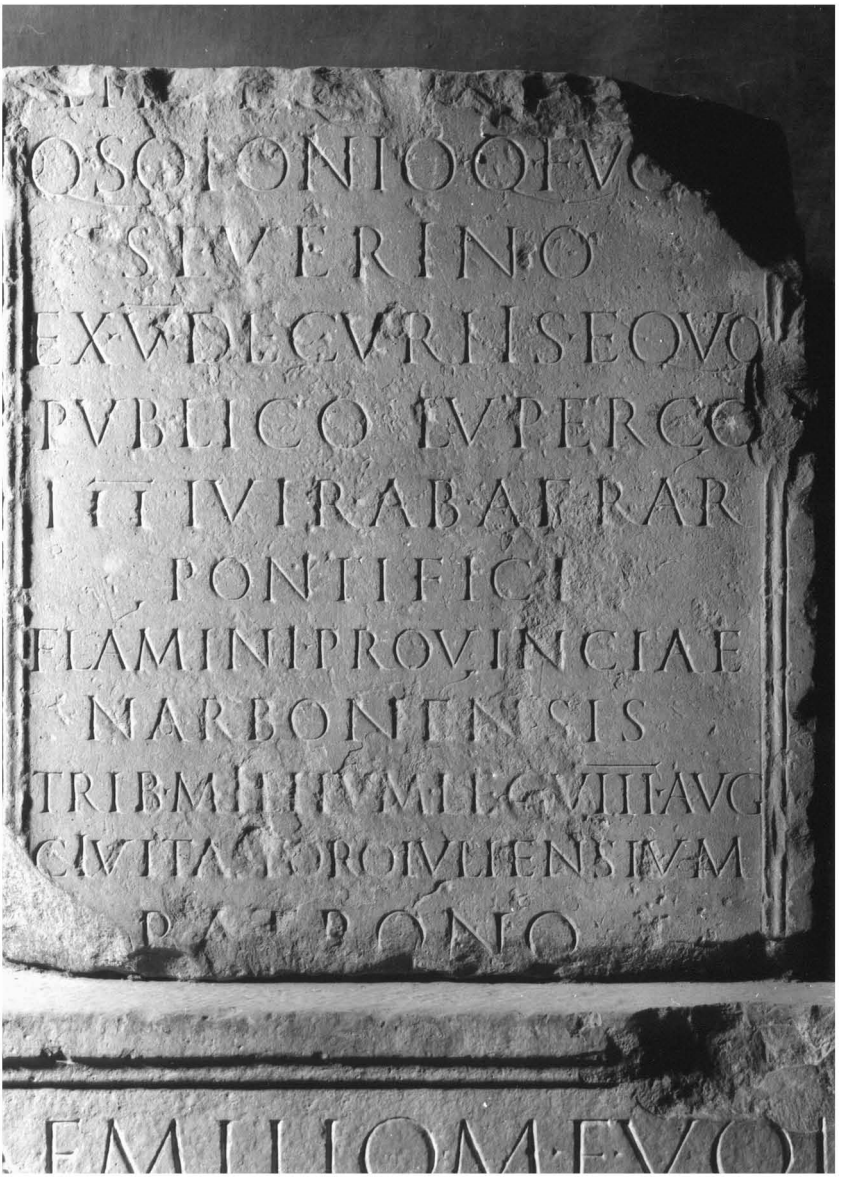


Plate 58. Inscription of Q. Solonius Severinus.

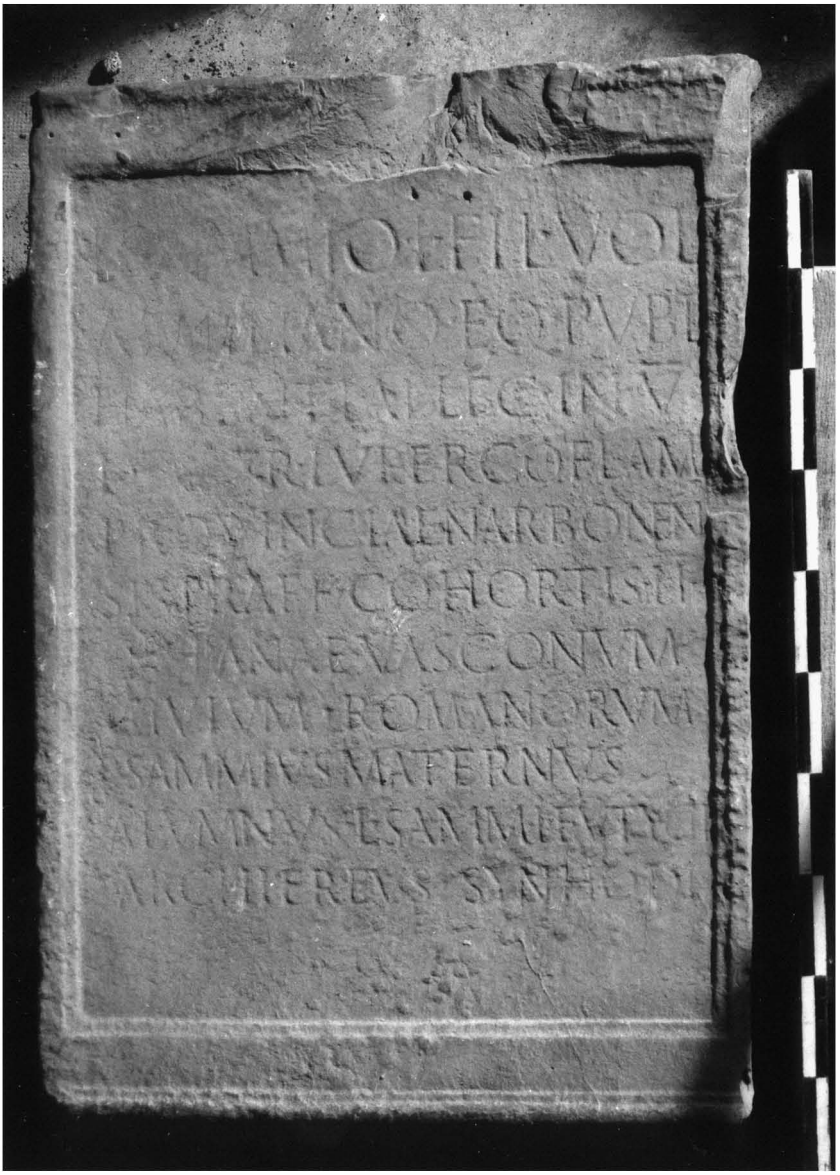


Plate 59. Inscription of L. Sammius Aemilianus.

One unique feature of this body of evidence is that alone among the western provinces of the Roman empire, Narbonensis has produced an epigraphical record of the first priest to hold provincial office.[15] The critical passage is a reference to Trebellius Rufus (no. 1) as "our first high priest" in the honorific letter sent by the provincial council to the Areopagus and the Council of the Six Hundred at Athens (line 14). We have seen that "first" must clearly have a temporal sense, while internal epigraphical evidence, strengthened by comparative evidence from other provinces, dates his priesthood firmly under Vespasian.[16]

ii. *A* curator templi *at Cuers*

It is worth reiterating in this context that an individual of uncertain name (*CIL* 12, 392), whom Pflaum took to be the earliest priest of Narbonensis and Gayraud the second,[17] was not a priest at all. Discussion of this record has recently been revitalized by the discovery in 1966 of its obliquely cut right-hand section, which had apparently been re-used, perhaps as an altar stone, at the chapel of Sainte-Jean-Baptiste (nowadays Saint-Jean) at Cuers.[18] For some reason this important find was not made generally known at the time[19] but, minor details apart, it confirms that the facsimile in the MS. of N.-C Fabri de Peiresc, f. 233, cf. f. 151 (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLVIII, cf. XLVII), is essentially correct. On the strength of these combined manuscript copies Hirschfeld gave the following text in the Corpus:

> [—*te ?*]RCAI[—] | [*omnibus honoribus*] *functo in* | [*patria sua tribun*]*o militum* | [… *praefect*]*o alae Longi*|*niae sacerdoti*] *templi divi* | [*Aug. quod est Nar*]*bone in quod* | [*sacerdotium uni*]*versa provin*|[*cia consentiente ad*]*lectus est* | [—]A | [—] *iae uxori.*

Equally important, what is certainly part of the left-hand section was found in 1990 by J.-P. Brun at Hyères, four kilometres to the south.[20]

---

[15] The name of the Aeduan G. Iulius Vercondaridubnus, the first priest of Tres Galliae, is known only from Livy, *Per.* 139.

[16] For discussion see Vol. I, 2, 240–1; Vol. III, 1, 100–6; cf. Fishwick, Knight (1998) 103–6.

[17] Pflaum (1978) 107, 212–3; Gayraud (1981) 399–400, 405.

[18] Brun–Gascou (1999) 261 with photograph and details of the dimensions and lettering. The authors are to be congratulated on making the re-discovered text readily available to all interested commentators.

[19] For a brief notice of its recovery see Brun–Gascou 261, n. 4 with ref.

[20] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 263 with photograph and details.

Thanks to these discoveries the greater portion of the original record has finally come to light, with the result that discussion can henceforth be based on the text as largely preserved on the original stone rather than in a copy. An awkward lacuna persists at the centre but on the basis of the combined fragments J.-P. Brun and J. Gascou propose the following version[21]:

> — ? | [—]ṚCAḶ[—], | *o̱m̱*[*n*]*i*[*bus honoribus f*]*uncto in* | *colo̱*[*nia sua, tribun*]*o̱ militum* | *leg(ionis) X*[…, *praefecto*] *alae Longi*|*nian*[*ae, sacerdoti ?*] *templi divi* | *Aug(usti)* [*quod est Nar*]*bone, in quod* | *offic*[*ium ab univ*]*ersa provin*|*cia* [*Narbon(ensi) prov*]*e̱ctus est,*| *et Iuli*[*ae —*]*a̱e̱ uxori.*

Of interest for present purposes is that Brun–Gascou reject the name Mercator, which was always in doubt, but refrain from proposing an alternative, preferring to refer to the honoree as "l'anonyme". More significantly, it turns out that after fulfilling all offices in his *colonia* (rather than *patria*), he served as *tribunus militum* of the *legio X* [–][22] before his prefecture of the *ala Longiniana*. In the final lines can now be read *o̱ffic*[*ium* (line 7) and *provin*|*cia* (lines 7–8), while it is self-evident from line 9 that this is a funerary inscription to the honoree and his wife Iulia. But the most important conclusions concern the missing fragment between the left-hand and right-hand sections of the stone. In line 2 Brun–Gascou infer that *omnibus honoribus* will have been written *in extenso* since the words *tribuno* (line 3), *militum* (line 3) and *provincia* (lines 7–8) were written without abbreviations. On the assumption that *praefecto* (line 4) was also written in full the authors take the lacuna in line 2 to have consisted of 13 letters (not counting spaces between *omnibus*, *honoribus* and *f*]*uncto*), then assume a varying number of letters in the following lines (again without counting spaces between words): lines 3 and 4 about 12 letters, line 5 about 11, lines 6 and 7 about 10, line 8 about 9, line 9 about 10. That these are all approximations is emphasized throughout. Particularly relevant for present purposes is that in line 5 they opt for the term *sacerdos* in preference to *flamen*[23] or *curator*,[24]

---

[21] For justification of the authors' reading and restitutions see *eid.*, *o.c.* 264–5.

[22] For a possible reference to either the *legio X Fretensis* or the *legio X Gemina* see Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 265, n. 19.

[23] See Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 264 with n. 17, observing that Hirschfeld first followed Peiresc in restoring *sacerdoti* in the text of *CIL* 12, 392, then questioned the use of the word in the indices of *CIL* 12, p. 935, but finally preferred *flamini* in the *additamentorum auctorium* p. 864, re the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038).

[24] See Vol. I, 2, 246–8.

though they are careful to note that neither of these possibilities can be ruled out *a priori*.

Now that the major part of the original text has been recovered it becomes possible to form a closer idea of the honoree's career. To all appearances he was a citizen of the colony of Arelate (Arles), the members of which were enrolled in the tribe Teretina. After holding all municipal offices he entered the equestrian order, in which capacity he served first as military tribune of a *legio X*, then as prefect of the *ala Longiniana*. The date at which this unit ceased to exist in not entirely clear (see below, pp. 166–7) but the authors note that its disbandment gives a *terminus ante* for the equestrian career. In any event the later office at Narbo, whatever its precise nature, could have come after an indeterminate interval following his second *milita equestris*,[25] so given this imprecision and the uncertainty of the year when the *ala Longiniana* disappeared it follows that the date of the text remains conjectural. As the authors themselves note in the conclusion to their argument, "les récentes découvertes ne règlent pas définitivement les problèmes posés par l'inscription de Cuers et par la date qu'il convient de lui assigner, avant ou après l'accession au pouvoir de Vespasien".[26]

One point has nevertheless been definitively settled by the commendably detailed publication of the left-hand fragment of the text. It was earlier proposed that line 7 might have read … *re*]*ṿers(us) a provin*[*cia* … .[27] Brun–Gascou have difficulty with this suggestion in its own right, though other examples might be cited in support,[28] but further argument along these lines is in any superfluous. The new left-hand section of the stone clearly shows a point after the abbreviations *leg.* and *Aug.*, so if *rev(ersus)* were intended in the right-hand section, a similar point could have been expected after *rev.* As there is no sign of this on the re-discoverd right-hand section of the stone, where [*ṿersa* evidently forms part of one word, the authors rightly conclude that such a hypothesis no longer comes under consideration.[29] This determination provides a good example of how a hypothesis reasonably based on a

[25] Bruns-Gascou, *o.c.* 265, n. 25, citing Pflaum (1978) 213.

[26] *O.c.* 269.

[27] Vol. I, 2, 248–9.

[28] Cf. *procurator re*[*versus*] *ex provincia Nar*[*bonensi*] ... (*CIL* 6, 30690); ... *signum ae*]*reum rever*[*sus Fortu*]*nae conserv*[*at*]*ric*[*i*] *posuit* (*CIL* 13, 7741); ... *legati ... Romam ... missi incolumes reversi ...* (*IDR* 3/1, 56).

[29] *O.c.* 267.

text known only from a manuscript copy[30] can be excluded once the inscribed stone has come to light and the original version of the text is on hand.

So far so good. But at this point the authors conclude: "En fait, il est impossible d'échapper à la quasi-certitude que c'est bien la province dans son ensemble ([*univ*]*ersa provincia*) qui a nommé l'anonyme à la fonction qu'il a exercée a Narbonne. C'est donc bien une fonction provinciale et non municipale". This argument faces overwhelming difficulties. In the first place the cult of a *divus* at a provincial temple was served by a *flamen*, not a *sacerdos*. In Tres Galliae, where the authors remark that *sacerdos* is well attested,[31] the provincial priest tended the cult of the living emperor along with Roma at the federal *altar*. It is true that the same term continued to be used when deified emperors were added to the worship, apparently under Hadrian (cf. *CIL* 13, 1706; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIVa), but this is plainly because the priestly title *sacerdos* was already in place. In the Danube area, where no provincial cult of the *divi* exists, the cult of the living emperor (now without Roma) at an altar is likewise served by a *sacerdos*, but there is no example anywhere at the provincial level of a *sacerdos* who tended the cult of a *divus*, not at least before the second century A.D. In Hispania citerior, Lusitania and Baetica the term is *flamen*, likewise originally in Africa Proconsularis; here the title changed to *sacerdos* late under Trajan, but that is in all probability for purely local reasons, not cultic.[32]

Most importantly of all for present purposes, the title of the priest of Gallia Narbonesis is *flamen* throughout the entire history of the provincial cult (below, pp. 182–5). As the authors agree that Q. Trebellius Rufus was chronologically the first *flamen* of Narbonensis under Vespasian,[33] it would be impossible to suppose a Flavian or post-Flavian priest styled *sacerdos*. It was suggested earlier that the Cuers inscription might be dated to the early Flavian period, a date based on the assumption that the *ala Longiniana* was disbanded by Vespasian after its decimation in A.D. 69, and that it was at some point following his miltary service with this unit that the *ignotus* at Cuers was appointed at Narbo.[34] If the *ala* was not in fact disbanded until several decades later,

[30] Generously noted by Brun–Gascou, *ibid.*
[31] Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 267, n. 34.
[32] On the general development see Vol. III, 1, 220–9.
[33] Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 267–8.
[34] Vol. I, 2, 245, cf. 248.

as L. Wierschowski has proposed,[35] this would open up the possibility that the text could be late Flavian or even Antonine. In any event Brun–Gascou mistakenly state that the inscription was earlier placed in the Julio-Claudian period,[36] an impossible suggestion if, as argued, he had previously served on the *concilium*, which in Narbonese Gaul as elsewhere could not have existed before the foundation of the provincial cult.

A further difficulty which Brun–Gascou discuss at length is the inappropriateness of a provincial temple of Divus Augustus.[37] They duly note that, since the provincial cult was founded by Vespasian, it can hardly have been limited to Divus Augustus alone as proposed by É. Demougeot, and add that none of the known provincial *flamines* of Narbonensis confines his cultic activity to the founder of the principate. The only text that gives any indication of the content of the cult is that of C. Batonius Primus (no. 7), whose title *flamen Augg.* points to the inclusion of the reigning emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla in the cult. Overlooked in all this is the fact that the term for the provincial priest preserved in the Lex Narbonensis is recorded as *flamen Augus*[… (line 21), which can be completed *Augus*[*talis* or *Augus*[*torum* (above, p. 12). On either restitution of the term—both versions are found in the Spains—the reference is to the living emperor along with the deified dead.[38] Since the Cuers inscription refers to the office of the honoree at the temple of Divus Augustus alone and since the text might belong to the Flavian, if not the Antonine period, it follows that this cannot be the provincial temple of Gallia Narbonensis, which ought rather to have served the cult of the living emperor(s) in combination with the deified dead from the time of Vespasian.

In view of these various difficulties Brun–Gascou propose that the inscription might be a record of a pre-Flavian provincial cult that was later reorganizd by Vespasian.[39] For the first part of this hypothesis they rely on the presumption of P. Le Roux, reviving an old idea of E. Kornemann, that "au plus tard à l'époque claudienne une forme de manifestation provinciale du culte existait à Narbonne".[40] This notion

[35] *Id.* (1986) 290–1.

[36] *Eid.*, *o.c.* 266. A Julio-Claudian date is mentioned hypothetically at Vol. I, 2, 245, where the implications of Alföldy's dating, if accepted, are examined.

[37] *O.c.* 267–8.

[38] Vols. I, 2, 269–80; II, 1, 388–96.

[39] *O.c.* 268–9.

[40] *Id.* (1994) 399.

is based entirely on the evidence of *CIL* 12, 392, which in Le Roux's opinion is dated to the Julio-Claudian period and establishes "qu'on le veuille ou non" a line between a priesthood at Narbonne and a decision of the *universa provincia*. The evident flaws in this view are first the date, which is not necessarily Julio-Claudian, and secondly the assumption that a priesthood must be involved when in fact *sacerdos / flamen* is restored before *templi* (see below, p. 169). The authors further quote Le Roux's claim that there was originally no temple defined as provincial and that "il n'avait une dimension provincial que parce que la cité qui l'abritait avait la prééminence comme résidence ordinaire du gouverneur".[41] On the contrary, a provincial cult that served one or more *divi* was centred on a single temple at a permanent provincial centre, sited as a rule at the provincial capital, the regular headquarters of the provincial governor.[42] Such a site was in fact located on the eastern outskirts of Narbo,[43] where prior to their interrment the remains occurred of a surrounding portico that enclosed various structures, including a pool in which was found the Lex Narbonensis, and to these traces can be added inferentially the provincial temple, as attested by the Narbonese charter, along with physical vestiges of a nearby amphitheatre.[44] On the basis of these erroneous claims the authors then conclude that the *ignotus* at Cuers served as a Julio-Claudian *sacerdos* of the provincial temple at Narbo and that his title, like that of other pre-Flavian priests (none of whom have left any trace), was changed on the reorganization of the provincial cult by Vespasian. As this was a new point of departure, Q. Trebellius Rufus was considered the first *flamen* of the province and the *ignotus* at Cuers, having belonged to an outdated version of the provincial cult centred on Divus Augustus alone does not belong in the list of provincial priests which began with the Flavian reorganization of the provincial cult.

All other considerations aside, the crucial flaw in this reconstruction is the supposition that the individual honoured at Cuers was a priest. As was emphasized earlier, the term *sacerdos / flamen*] *templi divi Augusti*

---

[41] *O.c.* 404.

[42] Le Roux, *o.c.* 402–4, following the lead of W. Trillmich, argues that there was no such thing as a provincial centre and that the provincial council was an itinerant organization. For refutation see Vol. III, 3, 185–201.

[43] The existence of a provincial sanctuary on the periphery of Narbonne is doubted by Le Roux, *o.c.* 410, n. 55.

[44] For an overview of the archaeological evidence see Vol. III, 3, 129–33.

is entirely inappropriate at the provincial level, if not also at the municipal.[45] The authors take note of this point, which they treat as a dubious argument *ex silentio*, but argue in favour of a provincial priesthood: "Malgré la formule inhabituelle de [*sacerdos* ?] (ou [*flamen* ?]) *templi divi Aug(usti)* pour désigner un grand-prêtre du culte provincial, l'anonyme a bien été le responsable suprême du culte impérial à l'échelon de la province de Narbonnaise".[46] This surely is impossible. The form *sacerdos / flamen templi* is not just unusual; it is positively excluded by the fact that it does not occur in a single title of the more than two hundred provincial priests whose records have been assembled in the present album. It is true that at Chisiduo we have a *flamen templi domus Aesculapi*, therefore a non-Roman cult (*CIL* 8, 1267), and at Vetus Salina(?) a *sacerdos templi Divi Marci* (*CIL* 3, 3345), but what recent research has shown is that this most unusual formulation may have been influenced by the presence of "oriental" cults in Pannonia inferior, notably at Gorsium, where the sanctuary was a key centre of Dolichenus in particular.[47] In any event nowhere in the entire western empire does the combination *sacerdos / flamen templi* occur at the provincial level. No provincial *flamen* or *sacerdos* is priest of a temple.

A second objection is the formulation of lines 6–7: … *in quod* | *offic*[*ium ab univ*]*ersa provin*|*cia* [*Narbon(ensi) prov*]*ẹctus est* … . Now that the suggested restitution *re*]*ṿers(us) a provin*[*cia* … is out of the question, Brun–Gascou argue that the unknown honoree must have been appointed by the province, therefore to a provincial function not a municipal (above, p. 166).[48] This argument too looks improbable. Since a provincial priest was elected from and by the *legati* who sat on the *concilium*, each representing a particular constituency of the province, every priest was in that sense elected by the whole province (below, p. 301). The only way one could become a provincial priest was through election by the whole province. Why then take the time, trouble and expense to record a statement of the obvious, a commonplace true of each of the more than two hundred known provincial priests—in

[45] Vol. I, 2, 246–8.

[46] Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 267.

[47] Vol. I, 2, 246–7, cf. Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 267, n. 34; Fishwick, Gorsium (2000) 316–8; Vol. III, 3, 149–72, especially 157–60, 169–71.

[48] Cf. Liebeschuetz (1989), arguing that in *CIL* 12, 392 the fact that *universa provincia* was involved in the election of a *flamen* makes it likely that the temple was in some sense provincial.

none of whose records, it should be noted, is there any trace of a comparable formula? If a reference to the *universa provincia* was inscribed on the stone, this must surely be because it was something worth recording.

If the temple must be municipal, not provincial, and if the functionary who served at it can hardly be a priest, the likeliest office that would seem to fit the genitive *templi* in line 5 is that of *curator*[49] . Several points are worth raising in this regard. In the first place the restitution *curatori* would be one letter less than the authors' *sacerdoti*, so certainly consistent with the approximate length of the lacuna (above, pp. 164–5). Secondly, the term *offic*[*ium* in line 7 is entirely appropriate to the office of *curator*. Equally, the appointment of a *curator* under the Flavians, *a fortiori* in the Antonine period, would be in keeping with the age of a municipal temple of Divus Augustus that must have been built at an early stage at Narbo, presumably under Tiberius,[50] and so may well have been in need of the repairs and attention that it was the task of a *curator* to provide. Lastly, in lines 7–8 Hirschfeld's restitution *provin*|[*cia consentiente adl*]*ectus* … is clearly too long in view of its 15 letters and 2 spaces after the word *provincia*[51]. One possibility would be to keep the restitution of Brun–Gascou but read … *ex univ*]*ersa provin*|*cia* [*Narbon(ensi) prov*]*ẹctus est*. Alternatively, as the *curator* of a temple will have been appointed by the local *ordo*, the lacuna in line 8 could have read … [*ab ordine el*]*ẹctus est*| … . Here it may be noted that *prov*]*ẹctus* would give 12 letters and two spaces, which is on the long side for an estimated gap of about 10 letters plus a point. In contrast *el*]*ẹctus*, as originally suggested by Krascheninnikoff,[52] would amount to 10 letters with 2 spaces, so fit exactly.

But how in that case is one to understand the reference to the entire province? It was earlier suggested that the *ignotus* in question might be said to have been appointed from the whole province if he had earlier served as *legatus* to the *concilium* and in the aftermath been named

[49] Vol. I, 2, 247–8; cf. now *AE* (1992) 1167. *Contra* Le Roux (1994) 399, taking the office to have been a priesthood. For an inscription from Paguignan attesting the municipal office of *curator templi Divi Augusti*, apparently at Narbo, see Vol. I, 2, 245–6 with refs. *ad AE* (1951) 62.

[50] Gayraud (1981) 366.

[51] Brun–Gascou, *o.c.* 265. For the point that *adlectus in officium* is hardly possible see *eid.*, *o.c.* 264, n. 12, noting the suggestion of W. D. Lebek that *provectus* or *evectus* is a preferable construction.

[52] Vol. I, 2, 244 with n. 30, adding that Gayraud proposes *de*]*lectus*.

to a municipal office at Narbo. A new factor that has now become clear is that, during his year as chairman of the provincial council, the provincial priest had a place on the local senate, where he seems to have had the rank of honorary decurion, conceivably on a par with the *duoviri* (above, p. 6). In such a position, then, he would have been ideally placed to propose that a member of the *concilium* might be a suitable candidate for the curatorship of the municipal temple, a local appointment made by the *ordo* of Narbo. Here it should be pointed out that Brun–Gascou have misunderstood the earlier discussion of *CIL* 12, 392. They correctly observe that *ab / ex universa provincia* cannot refer to appointment as a *legatus* and suggest that an appropriate formula would rather be *cum legatus esset* (*a colonia Arelatensium*) *ad concilium provinciae* … or some such.[53] But this entirely misrepresents the case made earlier. At no stage was it argued, stated or implied that the phrase *universa provincia* denotes election as a *legatus*, only that the reference might be explained in terms of prior service on the provincial *concilium*: in other words the background or context of the words *(ex) universa provincia* may have been that the *ignotus* had earlier served on the provincial council. This is very different from claiming that the phrase *(ex) universa provincia* is a strange expression "pour exprimer l'idée que l'anonyme avait été (avant sa function de *curator*) un membre de l'assemblée provinciale (en tant que *legatus* de la colonie d'Arles)". On the argument advanced earlier the words *(ex) universa provincia* mean simply "(from) the whole province". The suggestion that he may have been a delegate on the *concilium* would explain *why* he could be said to have been elected from the whole province.

To sum up, contrary to the thesis of Brun–Gascou, the *ignotus* at Cuers was certainly not a provincial priest. No provincial priest is *sacerdos / flamen templi*, nor does the record of any provincial priest in the Latin west refer to the self-evident fact that he was elected by the whole province. The likeliest restitution of the gap before *templi Divi Augusti* is *curatori*, in which case the honoree will have been appointed by the local *ordo* of Narbo. The circumstance that he was appointed (from) the whole province would be understandable if he had previously served as a delegate on the provincial council, but some different explanation might prove equally if not more plausible; only the recovery of the missing central fragment of the text could give a final answer. In the

[53] *Eid., o.c.* 266.

meantime the following text may be proposed on the basis of the the reconstruction developed above:

> — ? | [—]ṚCAḶ[—], | *o̩m̩*[*n*]*i*[*bus honoribus f*]*uncto in* | *colo̩*[*nia sua, tribun*]*o̩ militum* | *leg*(*ionis*) *X*[…, *praefecto*] *alae Longi*|*nian*[*ae, curatori*] *templi Divi* | *Aug*(*usti*) [*quod est Nar*]*bone, in quod* | *offic*[*ium ex univ*]*ersa provin*|*cia* [[*Narbon*(*ensi*) *prov* / *ab ordine el*]*ẹctus est,*| *et Iuli*[*ae* —]*a̩e̩ uxori.*

iii. *The Priestly Title*

The title of the priesthood is given in seven instances—one Greek, six Latin—as *flamen provinciae Narbonensis* or slight variant. The term *flaminalis*, which in Baetica refers in three records to a past priest, is not attested in Narbonensis but, if the standard completion is correct, Pompeius (no. 2) held the provincial priesthood twice, a distinction attested otherwise in the west only in Hispania Citerior (*AE*, 1908, 149), perhaps also in Tres Galliae (*CIL* 13, 1726).[54] Of note here is that in contrast to the priestly titles of Tres Galliae and Hither Spain in general, but also those of other provinces on occasion, there is rarely any indication of the content of the cult. The one exception is the title of C. Batonius Primus (no. 7), who is styled *flamen Augg.* Presumably *Augg.* appears in the title in this instance because the *taurobolium* he celebrated was for the *salus* of the two reigning Augusti, Septimius Severus and Caracalla. It is equally striking that the title of a] Iullina (no. 9), the one provincial priestess we know, is likewise silent on the content of the cult, though presumably she will have been charged as elsewhere with the cult of deified females (cf. *AE* 1966, 183: Mulva, Baetica). It follows that the content of the cult must be judged as far as possible on the basis of comparative evidence elsewhere. A composite cult of living and deified dead emperors, as attested in the Spanish provinces, would certainly be consistent with the fragmentary title *flamen Augus*[preserved in the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* (line 21)—whether the second term is completed *Augus*[*talis* or *Augus*[*torum* (above, p. 12).

[54] Deininger (1965) 153–4, cf. 109, 125. See further above, pp. 45–6, 65; 113. For a local priest at Lugdunum Convenarum, who may likewise have served twice see *ILTG* 82: Vol. III, 1, 27, n. 85.

iv. *Origin and Social Background*

With only eight priests and one priestess who have left their traces it must be sheer chance that that four originate from Nîmes (nos. 3–6),[55] whereas we have only one from Toulouse, Ruscino and Vienne respectively (nos. 1, 2, 8), and none certainly from Narbo itself (the origin of C. Batonius Primus who performed the *taurobolium* at Narbo is unknown); to these can be added]a Iullina from Sales, Haute-Savoie. Gayraud notes, however, that both Latin (Tolosa, Ruscino, Nemausus) and Roman (Vienna) communities are represented among incumbents, so even if Nîmes has produced half of the surviving titles, in practice the provincial priesthood looks to have been equitably distributed by the council among cities of different status.[56] On the other hand there is nothing to indicate any system of deliberate rotation nor are there grounds to infer inter-city rivalry within a certain area as looks to have been the case in Proconsularis.

Q. Trebellius Rufus apart, the provincial priests of Narbonensis emerge as a homogeneous group who were drawn from the Romanized elite of their local towns—from families long installed in the province of which they had become an integral part.[57] This looks clear from individual careers and from the family relationships that are mirrored in the inscriptions; in particular there is an evident link between M. Cominius Aemilianus (no. 3), L. Samius Aemilianus (no. 4), and the local Aemiliani who held municipal magistracies at Nîmes.[58] All of this municipal bourgeoisie are Roman citizens with the *tria nomina* (the inscription of Pompeius is defective) in plain compliance with the prerequisite implicit in the *Lex Narbonensis* (line 17). Five give the filiation and Roman tribe (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 8) in contrast with the practice at the federal centre of Tres Galliae, one simply the filiation (no. 1), while Pompeius (no. 2) is necessarily a Roman citizen if he was first *IIvir* at Ruscino, then *IIvir* at some other city.[59]

---

[55] See in general Christol (1992) 55.

[56] Gayraud (1981) 404. On the recruitment of the upper classes in the cities of Gallia Narbonensis see in general Christol (1993).

[57] Gayraud, *o.c.* 407.

[58] Gayraud, *o.c.* 401 with nn. 179–89.

[59] So Gayraud, *o.c.* 400 with nn. 164–5, suggesting that the second centre may have been Narbo; cf. 323–4, 339.

v. *Career*

a. Prior offices

One characteristic of the Narbonese priesthoods which immediately catches the eye is that five of the eight known incumbents were members of the *ordo equester* before election to provincial office, three of them (nos. 3, 4, 5) the first of their family to acquire equestrian status.[60] Only Pompeius (no. 2) and Sex. Attius Atticus (no. 8), whose inscriptions are fragmentary or perhaps abbreviated, are not expressly identified as knights; the rank of C. Batonius Primus (no. 7) is also omitted but this would plainly be out of place in the record of the *taurobolium* he performed for the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (A.D 198–209). Both L. Sammius Aemilianus (no. 4) and Q. Solonius Severinus (no. 6) must have been knights at an early stage in their careers since both belonged at Rome to the priestly college of *luperci*, membership of which was reserved for young knights.[61] In the inscription of Solonius Severinus (no. 6) equestrian status is mentioned before the office of *lupercus*, which itself preceded the higher municipal magistracies, whereas the *cursus* of Sammius Aemilianus (no. 4) makes no mention at all of municipal offices before the provincial priesthood; initial membership in the equestrian order and early imperial distinctions explain the rapid rise of both individuals to the provincial priesthood. The formula attesting knighthood is put at the head of both inscriptions which give the *cursus* of M. Cominius Aemilianus (no. 3) in indirect order but comparison with the career of Solonius Severinus, if not also of Sammius Aemilianus, suggests the possibility that his equestrian status was likewise established before the municipal offices. Similarly in the *cursus* of Q. Soillius Valerianus (no. 5) equestrian rank must have preceded the municipal career. One of his two inscriptions, which records the *cursus* in direct order, begins with mention of the public horse (*CIL* 12, 3275), in the other the list of offices is given in inverse order and ends with the same formula (*CIL* 12, 3274).[62] As the great majority of *flamines provinciae*

[60] For the formula *equum publicum habens* see Demougin (1988) 202 with n. 63; Christol (1992) 55.

[61] Latte (1967) 85, n. 1.

[62] So Gayraud (1981) 402, surely rightly; Pflaum (1978) 99–100, takes both inscriptions to give the *cursus* in direct order.

Narbonensis were knights,[63] the solitary provincial *flaminica* (no. 9) may likewise have belonged to an equestrian family.

Of most interest perhaps is the case of Q. Trebellius Rufus. Here equestrian status is a prerequisite for appointment as ὕπατος Καινείνησις ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαίων (*summus Caeninensis sacrorum populi Romani*), a priesthood of secondary rank that perpetuated the cults of Caenina, an ancient community of Latium which had long ago disappeared without trace.[64] Presumably *summus* implies the presidency of the *sacerdotes Caeninenses*,[65] whose only function under the Empire may have been to participate in the Feriae Latinae.[66] As the succession of offices makes clear, the post must have been held following the municipal career but whether it was served before or after the provincial priesthood is not immediately determinable. All that emerges from comparison with epigraphical records of other office-holders is that it was usually held by young knights or those about to enter on the equestrian cursus after a local career.[67] Even so, the place of the *sacerdotium* between the municipal offices and the provincial priesthood along with the possibility that service as *summus Caeninensis* could have been a factor in the choice of Trebellius Rufus as first priest of Narbonensis suggests that the western part of the career is given in descending order, last first. In that case Trebellius Rufus will have held the *sacerdotium Caeninensium* before, not after the provincial priesthood, so would have already achieved equestrian status.[68] In the same way L. Sammius Aemilianus (no. 4) and Q. Solonius Severinus (no. 6) held the equestrian priesthood of *lupercus* at Rome before attaining the provincial priesthood.

---

[63] Deininger (1965) 109.

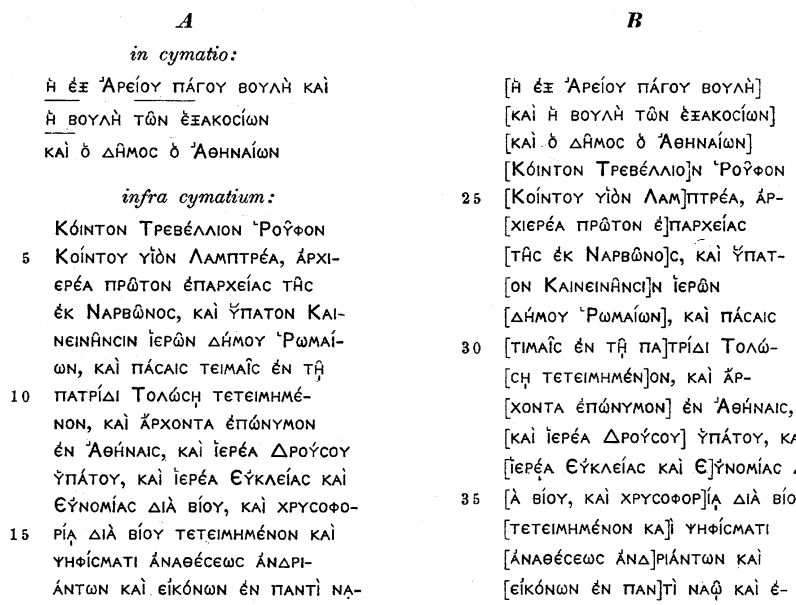
[64] Fishwick, Knight (1998) 86–8.

[65] On the *sacerdotes Caeninenses* see Camodeca (1979) 65–72 with n. 95 and bibl.; *id.* (1981) 54–5; further Gayraud (1981) 397 with n. 142 and refs.; Labrousse (1968) 527. For a contemporary equestrian *sacerdos Caeninensium* at Arlelate see *CIL* 12, 671; Pflaum (1978) 125–9.

[66] Wissowa (1915) 3–5; cf. *id.*, *RE* 3 (1899) 1279; (1912) 520; Graindor (1931) 144, n. 2 with refs; Latte (1967) 404–6; Labrousse (1968) 527.

[67] Camodeca (1979) 70–1, cf. 66–9 with list of *sacerdotes Caeninenses*.

[68] Pflaum (1978) 105 puts the *sacerdotium* after the provincial flaminate, yet it seems most unlikely that a minor priesthood at Rome, even held as ὕπατος, would have followed the prestigious priesthood of the province. Pailler places the *sacerdotium Caeninensium* both after the provincial priesthood (1988, 100) and before the provincial priesthood (1989, 177, 185).



A

in cymatio:

Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ
Ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἐξακοσίων
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων

infra cymatium:

Κόϊντον Τρεβέλλιον Ῥοῦφον
Κοίντου υἱὸν Λαμπτρέα, ἀρχι-
ερέα πρῶτον ἐπαρχείας τῆς
ἐκ Ναρβῶνος, καὶ ὕπατον Και-
νεινῆνcιν ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαί-
ων, καὶ πάcαιc τειμαῖc ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι Τολώcῃ τετειμημέ-
νον, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπώνυμον
ἐν Ἀθήναιc, καὶ ἱερέα Δρούcου
ὑπάτου, καὶ ἱερέα Εὐκλείας καὶ
Εὐνομίας διὰ βίου, καὶ χρυcοφο-
ρίᾳ διὰ βίου τετειμημένον καὶ
ψηφίcματι ἀναθέcεωc ἀνδρι-
άντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἐν παντὶ να-
ῷ καὶ ἐπιcήμῳ τῆc πό[λ]εωc [τ]ό-
πῳ, μεγαλου[υ]χ[ίαc καὶ ἀρετῆc]
[κ]αὶ εὐνοίαc [τῆc εἰc ἑαυτούc].

B

[Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ]
[καὶ Ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἐξακοσίων]
[καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων]
[Κόϊντον Τρεβέλλιο]ν Ῥοῦφον
[Κοίντου υἱὸν Λαμ]πτρέα, ἀρ-
[χιερέα πρῶτον ἐ]παρχείας
[τῆc ἐκ Ναρβῶνο]c, καὶ ὕπατ-
[ον Καινεινῆνcι]ν ἱερῶν
[δήμου Ῥωμαίων], καὶ πάcαιc
[τιμαῖc ἐν τῇ πα]τρίδι Τολώ-
[cῃ τετειμημέν]ον, καὶ ἄρ-
[χοντα ἐπώνυμον] ἐν Ἀθήναιc,
[καὶ ἱερέα Δρούcου] ὑπάτου, καὶ
[ἱερέα Εὐκλείας καὶ Ε]ὐνομίας δι-
[ὰ βίου, καὶ χρυcοφορ]ίᾳ διὰ βίου
[τετειμημένον κα]ὶ ψηφίcματι
[ἀναθέcεωc ἀνδ]ριάντων καὶ
[εἰκόνων ἐν παν]τὶ ναῷ καὶ ἐ-
[πιcήμῳ τῆc πόλ]εωc τόπῳ,
[μεγαλουυχίαc κα]ὶ ἀρετῆc καὶ
[εὐνοίαc τῆc εἰc ἑ]αυτούc.

fig. 1. *IG* 2^2, 4193. Facsimile reproduced from *IG* 2^2

No less than three provincial priests, then, held religious posts at Rome reserved for knights, in two instances before commencement of the municipal cursus (nos. 4, 6). Q. Solonius Severinus belonged to the five judicial decuries, *ex v decuriis*—which emperor bestowed the favour is not stated—whereas L. Sammius Aemilianus was included on the list of jurors from which selection for actual jury service could be made, *adlectus in v decurias*; there is nothing to show he actually served on a jury at Rome but enrolment on the list of possible members was plainly a mark of imperial favour.[69] On the other hand all provincial priests look to have pursued a full or higher municipal career with the exception of L. Sammius Aemilianus, in whose case there is no record of any post between the minor priesthood of *lupercus* and the prestigious provincial flaminate. Unless his municipal career is omitted for some reason, he will have stepped directly from the lower office

[69] Above, p. 92 with n. 55.

to the higher, a unique elevation to be explained perhaps by the brilliant start of his career. In three cases the municipal careeer is resumed by the umbrella formula *omnibus honoribus in patria sua functus* or variant: Q. Trebellius Rufus (no. 1), in whose inscription at Athens the formula is translated into Greek: πάσαις τειμαῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Τολώσῃ τετειμημένος (*omnibus honoribus in patria sua Tolosa exornatus*); Sex. Attius Atticus (no. 8) at Rome; and Q. Soillius Valerianus at Nîmes (no. 5: *CIL* 12, 3275). Use of the generalization may be attributable in the first two instances to the fact that reference to the municipal career appears at a locality far from where the municipal offices were actually served, whereas the second inscription of Soillius Valerianus lists his career subsequently to the provincial priesthood and was set up by the people of Apt to their patron. Another inscription in his honour at Nîmes (*CIL* 12, 3274) details the municipal career in a *cursus* which ends before the provincial priesthood and was set up by decree of the decurions. Among other points of interest it may be noted that in two careers the office of *praefectus vigilum et armorum* was held early in the municipal career (nos. 3, 5) and that three future provincial priests served in the financial office of *IIIIvir ab aerario* (nos. 3, 5, 6) but only Pompeius (no. 2) is expressly mentioned as *IIvir*—apparently elsewhere than at Ruscino. As for religious offices three individuals have been *pontifex* (nos. 3, 5, 6) and one a *flamen* of the colony (no. 3). In short, before attaining the provincial priesthood most of the known incumbents have had a roughly similar career which gave then the opportunity to get known, gain experience, and demonstrate their suitability for the post of *legatus* to the provincial council, a pre-requisite for choice as provincial priest.[70] Their candidacy must also have been helped in several instances by the obvious circumstance that they had caught the emperor's eye.

There can be no question that the inscriptions regularly place the provincial priesthood after the municipal *cursus*, but uncertainty arises over the stage at which in two instances the priest performed his equestrian military service. To all appearances L. Sammius Aemilianus (no. 4) held the provincial flaminate before the prefecture of the *cohors II Hispanae Vasconum civium Romanorum* as did Q. Solonius Severinus before the military tribunate of the *legio VIII Augusta* (no. 6).[71] At least the *mili-*

[70] Gayraud (1981) 406–7.

[71] Burnand (1975) 772, 782, noting that the *cohors II Hispanae Vasconum civium Romanorum* formed part of the garrison in Britain since the last third of the first century, while the *legio VIII Augusta* was posted in Germania Superior since the reign of Vespasian.

tia equestris is mentioned in each *cursus* after the provincial priesthood, whereas the military posts appropriate to the lower equestrian *cursus* regularly appear before the provincial priesthood in numerous examples elsewhere, notably in Hither Spain.[72] Gayraud follows Burnand in taking the *cursus* at face value, whereas Pflaum supposes that the posts are given out of strict chronological order with the military post separated from the civilian career. All that is clear is that roughly the same sequence appears in both inscriptions, each of which is from Nîmes, and that the posts appear to be given in regular ascending order up to and including the provincial priesthood. With only two instances to draw on, it is impossible to determine whether the order of the *cursus* is simply a local idiosyncracy or different rules did in fact apply to the careers of provincial priests of Narbonensis. The latter looks the likelier alternative in light of the parallel example of T. Sennius Solemnis in Tres Galliae.

b. Later Offices

One feature of particular interest in the priestly careers of Narbonese Gaul is that in several cases the *cursus* gives unusually full details on posts held *after* the provincial flaminate. Elsewhere, particularly in Tres Galliae and Hither Spain, we know very little of later offices that might have been held by provincial priests, for the self-evident reason that their inscribed pedestals were set up by the provincial council soon after completion of their term. G. Alföldy has nevertheless raised the possibility of a continuing career with regard to the priests of Hither Spain[73] and one inscription in Africa seems to indicate that a provincial priest subsequently served as procurator ((*CIL* 8, 16472 + p. 2722 + *ILTun* 1647)). In Gallia Narbonensis the contrary is the case. M. Cominius Aemilianus (no. 3) was financial *curator* of the colony of Aquae Sextiae by appointment of the emperor Trajan, and Q. Soillius Valerianus (no. 5) served in the same capacity at Cabellio, Avennio and Forum Iulii, evidently simultaneously.[74] Three priests are recorded as patrons

[72] Alföldy (1973) 29–36. See in detail above, pp. 90–1. The picture in Tres Galliae is uneven. Whereas C. Iulius Victor (no. 3) provides an early example of prior performance of the *militiae equestres*, T. Sennius Solemnis (no. 33) could have served as *trib. semestris leg. vi* after holding the federal priesthood. See above, p. 42; Deininger (1965) 102, 124, 152.

[73] *Id.* (1973) 54–6.

[74] Burnand (1975) 764–9, 775–9; Jacques (1983) 387–9. For an overview of the office see Curchin (1990) 35–6, 64–5 with refs.

of communities: M. Cominius Aemilianus (no. 3), Q. Soillius Valerianus (no. 5) and Q. Solonius Severinus (no. 6),[75] while Cominius Aemilianus was also patron of the *severi Augustales corporati* of Nîmes. Gayraud suggests that the career of Sex. Attius Atticus (no. 8) continued at Rome following his provincial priesthood since this is where his inscription occurs but, as the *cursus* stops after the provincial priesthood, he might simply have migrated to Rome for some reason.

A further possibility not to be excluded from consideration is that Trebellius Rufus served at the equestrian level *after* his provincial flaminate of Gallia Narbonensis and before he migrated to Athens.[76] Two allusions in the letter from the authorities at Tolosa bear directly upon the issue (Vol. III, 1, pp. 102–3, fig. 2). The first is a reference to the Roman senate at line 39: καὶ συνκλητ[… , followed by Ῥωμαίω[ν towards the beginning of line 40. To this can be added a second phrase on the same line: ἐ]πε[θ]ύμησεν ἡσυχίαν ι[… . It was acutely suggested by J.H. Oliver that mention of the senate followed by the statement that he yearned for tranquillity probably means that Trebellius Rufus declined promotion to senatorial status.[77] The idea that Trebellius preferred *otium* to *allectio* into the senatorial *ordo*, a choice which effectively allowed him to pursue his ambitions at Athens rather than submit to the stresses of public life at Rome, has been accepted by all subsequent commentators.[78] So this in itself could imply subsequent service in the imperial administration as Trebellius can hardly have been on the verge of promotion to the senate in the immediate aftermath of his provincial flaminate. More to the point, there is evidence in the letter from the magistrates and *curia* of Tolosa that may very well indicate an equestrian career. The surviving words of line 37 are of particular significance:]ινωμένης σεμνότητος ἴσος ὑπηρέτης [κα]ὶ τῶν Σεβα[στῶν … . It has been suggested that]ινωμένης σεμνότητος might be dependent

[75] Burnand (1975) 779, 782 argues that Soillius Valerianus was made patron by the inhabitants of Apt because of the proximity of their town to Avignon and above all Cavaillon, while historical ties with the Eighth Legion may explain the patronage of Solonius Severinus at Fréjus.

[76] Fishwick, Knight (1998) 97–103.

[77] Oliver (1942) 80, citing by way of parallel Pliny, *Ep.* 1, 14, 5: *Pater Minicius Macrinus, equestris ordinis princeps, quia nihil altius voluit*; *adlectus enim a divo Vespasiao inter praetorios honestam quietem huic nostrae—ambitioni dicam an dignitati?—constantissime praetulit.*

[78] Aymard (1942–45) 521–2; Robert (1944) 202–3; Labrousse (1968) 528 with nn. 64, 67, noting that other knights, at all periods, declined senatorial status; Pflaum (1978) 105; Gayraud (1981) 398; Pailler (1989) 185.

on some previous word or words,[79] in which case ἴσος ὑπηρέτης [κα]ὶ τῶν Σεβα[στῶν can be taken together as a unit.[80] Since the letter will have been originally drafted in Latin, then translated into Greek (perhaps at Toulouse rather than Athens[81]), the original text may have read: …] … *aequus minister*(?)*que Augustorum* … (vel sim). The precise wording is hardly recoverable but Oliver's original conclusion looks in any event unavoidable, namely that Trebellius Rufus served the living *Augusti*, who must therefore be successive emperors as Aymard adds in amplification of Oliver's view.[82] As for the actual imperial posts that Trebellius held, ἴσος (= *aequus*) surely suggests service in an administrative or financial capacity: a procuratorship, for example, as apparently attested in Proconsularis (*CIL* 8, 16472 + *ILTun* 1647), would certainly be in keeping with the epithet. However his career did develop, it conforms to the pattern attested in other instances of Narbonese priests who continued in public service after provincial office. In Gallia Narbonensis, contrary to the general picture elsewhere, the provincial flaminate by no means closed a man's career.

One last oddity calls for special mention. The later career of Q. Trebellius Rufus at Athens is the best documented case in the Latin west of *municipal* office-holding subsequent to the provincial priesthood, though similar appointments are occasionally attested elsewhere (below, pp. 303–5). With the recognition by Gayraud that the *cursus* divides into two separate halves, one applying to Trebellius' career in the west, the other at Athens,[83] it has become clear that this Gallic knight from Tolosa migrated for uncertain reasons to Athens, where he acquired Athenian citizenship and was inscribed in the deme of Lamptrai in the coast trittys of the tribe Erechtheis.[84] The splendid career on which he now embarked in his adopted *patria* can be explained only in the context of his generous benefactions, the μεγαλοψυχία explicitly mentioned in the epigraph below his statues on the Acropolis. His Athenian

[79] Despite perusal of Kretschmer–Locker (1965) insufficient syllables are preserved to allow convincing restoration of what looks to be a participle preceding σεμνότητος.

[80] Vol. III, 1, 106.

[81] *Contra* Labrousse (1968) 495, suggesting that a Latin version will have been rendered into Greek at Athens by some orator bent on copying the resonances of contemporary Hellenistic style and culture; cf. Aymard (1942–5) 521, stressing the unnatural, mannered turns of phrase.

[82] Aymard, *o.c.* 522. For the view that the successive rulers are Vespasian and Titus, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, or Titus and Domitian see Vol. III, 1, *ibid.*

[83] *Id.* (1981) 397–9 with n. 146.

[84] *RE* 11 (1924) 592–3 (Kock).

cursus, given like the western cursus in reverse order, begins with the decree by which his *andriantes* (his statues as a man) and *eikones* (usually busts) were to be set up in every shrine and conspicuous locality of the city.[85] He was granted the χρυσοφορία διὰ βίου, evidently the right to appear in ceremonial dress on appropriate occasions,[86] and he was appointed lifetime priest of Eucleia and Eunomia, whose temple stood on the Pnyx (Paus. 1, 14, 5);[87] as the χρυσοφορία took place in the service of a god, both distinctions must go together. These honours were crowned by the supreme magistracy of the eponymous archonship, served on Graindor's calculations some time between A.D. 85/86 and 94/95,[88] along with the priesthood of the Elder Drusus, an office instituted following the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. and the more honourable for the fact that it was often held by the archon.[89] All of these offices are recorded in his inscriptions, so may well have been held in rapid succession following the decree requiring the erection of his statues. Given the years of "anarchy" that are recorded at Athens in the later first century, when the Athenians were unable to find candidates wealthy enough to assume the burdens of a costly liturgy,[90] it can hardly be doubted that what won him the enthusiastic gratitude of the Athenians was his opportune generosity in hard times. In the end his meteoric rise at Athens culminated in an office that had just been held by no less a person than the emperor Domitian himself, a distinction unmatched by any other recorded provincial priest in the entire western empire.

---

[85] For a nearly contemporaneous parallel to these distinctions see the well-known inscription recording the bequest and supplementary bequest of G. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus: Oliver, Gerousia (1941) no. 3, pp. 55–85 (= *IEphesus* 27), lines 85–8. For detailed analysis see Fishwick, Knight (1999) 89–96.

[86] Pflaum (1978) 105, took χρυσοφορία to refer to the *ius anuli aurei*, the right of equestrians to wear a gold ring, but it is difficult to see why a reference to Trebellius' equestrian rank should occur in the list of his distinctions and offices at Athens; cf. Pailler (1989) 184. On the χρυσοφορία see *I.G.* 2^2 p. 235, citing Graindor (1931) 71 with n. 1, cf. 106, 144; cf. *RE* 3 (1899) col. 2517 with refs. (Szanto); Labrousse (1968) 529. The basic study of the χρυσοφορία remains that of Wilhelm (1914) 36–42.

[87] *RE* 6 (1907) 996–8 (Jessen), 1129–31 (Waser); Labrousse, *o.c.* 528 with nn. 72–3.

[88] Graindor (1922) 9, 93–5; Oliver (1942) 83 with table of Athenian archons. See now Kapetanopoulos (1992–98) 233–7, dating Trebellius Rufus to A.D. 92/3.

[89] Graindor (1922) 18–19. The last known incumbent dates from A.D. 107/8; cf. Kapetanopoulos (1992–98) 220, citing other contemporary holders of the office.

[90] Graindor (1922) 11–12, 100–2, cf. 93, noting that a year of *anarchia* followed the archonship of Trebellius Rufus, which was itself preceded two or three years earlier by a year without archon.

vi. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

Restricted as the range of incumbents appears, it nevertheless runs from the very first appointee, in all probability of Vespasianic date, down to the era of the Severi, a total of eight priests and one priestess from a span of some 125 years or more. Within this century and a quarter no text is dated to a specific year but several can be placed approximately under a particular reign of the Antonine period, which includes representatives spaced at fairly regular intervals through most of the second century. The single *flaminica* has been attributed to the late first century on the basis of letter forms. Despite the relative scarcity of recorded priesthoods, the development of the provincial worship of Narbonensis emerges without difficulty. Founded under Vespasian, probably in the early years of the new dynasty, the cult was in all probability addressed to the collective *Augusti* from the beginning, as suggested by the term *flamen* and the formula partially preserved in the Lex Narbonensis (line 21).[91] Nothing in the surviving titles points to any later modification in the content of the cult but comparison with the formula in other provinces, notably Proconsularis, Lusitania and Baetica, strongly suggests that Roma was not included. To judge from present evidence at least, her appearance in the titles of the priests of Hither Spain attests a feature unique to the provincial worship of that province.

[91] See in detail Vol. III, 1, 109–11.

vii. *Priests of Gallia Narbonensis*

1. Q. Trebellius Rufus
Origin: Tolosa
Find-Spot: Athens
Title: ἀρχιερεὺς πρῶτος ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἑκ Νάρβωνος
Municipal Career: Tolosa, πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Τολώσῃ τετειμημένος; Athens, ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, ἱερεὺς Δρούσου ὑπάτου, ἱρεὺς Εὐκλείας καὶ Εὐνομίας διὰ Βίου, χρυσοφορίᾳ διὰ Βίου, τετειμημένος καὶ ψηφίσματι ἀναθέσεως ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἐν παντὶ ναῷ καὶ ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ
Imperial Career: Rome, ὕπατος Καινείνηνσις ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαίων; Empire, ἴσος ὑπηρέτης [κα]ὶ τῶν Σεβα[στῶν
Date: before A.D 86–94,probably Vespasianic
References: *IG* 2^2, 4193a-b (Fig. 1); *AE* (1947) 69 (Vol. III, 1, Fig. 2); *Epigraphica* 60 (1998) 83–112

2. Pompeius
Origin: Ruscino?
Find-Spot: Ruscino
Title: *flamen bis p*[*rov.*]
Municipal Career:]*vir, IIvir*
Date: Flavian- second century
References: *ILGN* 634

3. M. Cominius M. *fil.* Volt. Aemilianus
Origin: Nemausus
Find-Spot: Nemausus
Title: *flamen provinc. Narb.*
Municipal Career: *flam. col. Aug. Nem., IIIIvir ab aer., pontif., praef. vigil. et arm., Vocontiorum patrono*? *VIvir. Aug. corp. patronus*
Imperial Career: *eq. p. habens, curator Aquensi coloniae datus ab Imp. Trai.*
Date: 1st third of second century
References: *CIL* 12, 3212–3 cf. p. 836 (Pls. 56–7)

4. L. Sammius L. *f.* Volt. Aemilianus
Origin: Nemausus
Find-Spot: Nemausus
Title: *flam. provinciae Narbonensis*
Imperial Career: *eq. publ. habens, allec. in V decur., lupercus, praef. cohortis II Hispanae Vasconum civium Romanorum*
Date: Trajan-Hadrian
References: *CIL* 12, 3183 (Pl. 59)

5. Q. Soillius T. *f.* Volt. Valerianus
Origin: Nemausus
Find-Spot: Nemausus
Title: *provinc. flamon. functus*
Municipal Career: *IIIIvir ab aerar., pontifex, praefectus vigilum et armorum, patronus Aptensium*
Imperial Career: *equum publicum habens, curator Cabell. Avenniens. Foroiuliens.*
Date: Antoninus Pius-Marcus Aurelius
References: *CIL* 12, 3274–5 cf. p. 837 (Pls. 54–5)

6. Q. Solonius Q. *f.* Volt. Severinus
Origin: Nemausus
Find-Spot: Nemausus
Title: *flamen provinciae Narbonensis*
Municipal Career: *IIIIvir ab aerar., pontifex, patronus civitatis Foroiulensium*
Imperial Career: *ex V decuriis, equo publico, lupercus, trib. militum leg. VIII Aug.*
Date: Marcus Aurelius
References: *CIL* 12, 3184 (Pl. 58)

7. C. Batonius Primus.
Find-Spot: Narbo Martius
Title: *flamen Augg.* (*provinciae Narbonensis*)
Date: 198–210
References: *CIL* 12, 4323

8. Sex. Attius Sex. *f.* Volt. Atticus.
Origin: Vienna
Find-Spot: Roma
Title: *flam. prov. Narb.*
Municipal Career: *omnib. honorib. in patria sua funct.*
Date: second century?
References: *CIL* 6, 29688.

viii. *Priestesses of Gallia Narbonensis*

9.]a Iullina
Find-Spot: Sales, Haute Savoie
Title: *flaminica provinc.* [*Narbonensis*]
Date: late first century?
References: *CIL* 12, 2516

CHAPTER SIX

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

With the exception of Apuleius (no. 8), whose uncertain tenure is known from literary texts, the current roster of provincial priests of Proconsular Africa derives entirely from epigraphical sources.[1] Where the circumstances are clear, these records can take a variety of forms: an honorific *titulus* or the inscribed base of a monument set up by a man's descendant (nos. 2, 5) or the community he had served (nos. 6, 7, 13, 14; in such a case the honoree may have supported the costs of his own statue: no. 3), an honorific inscription to a priest's wife set up by the community (no. 9), a dedication by the provincial priest himself to a deity (no. 15) or to the emperor (no. 12), an epitaph (no. 1). In contrast to the picture in the Three Gauls or Hispania Citerior, however, we have no inscribed statue base that has been set up to a priest of Proconsularis on the responsibility of the provincial council.[2] Nevertheless the local

[1] For a list of provincial priests see below, pp. 200–4. On the priesthood of Africa Proconsularis see Duncan-Jones (1968) 151–8 with analysis of incumbents; Pflaum (1968) 175–8; Illuminati (1977) 263–71. For individual priesthoods see Bassignano (1974) *passim*.

[2] The monument that Apuleius wanted erected to himself at Oea, his wife's *patria*, ran into opposition culminating in a lawsuit and a speech he handed down to posterity: … *et pro statua sibi apud Oeenses locanda, ex qua civitate habebat uxorem, adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret?* (Augustinus, *Ep.* 138, 4, 19). Despite Deininger (1965) 134, it seems unlikely that this could have been a project undertaken by the provincial council of Proconsularis—on the lines, say, of memorials to provincial priests set up locally by the Three Gauls (cf. *CIL* 13, 1049, 1463, 3162). So rare a distinction would hardly have been associated with his wife's *patria* rather than Apuleius' own. The context tells rather in favour of the possibility that the statue came within the jurisdiction of the local *ordo*, so corresponded to the monument for which Apuleius thanks the *principes Africae viri*, evidently the local senate of Carthage (*Flor.* 16, 1, cf. 41); the costs of this statue had been supported by Apuleius' friend Aemilianus Strabo, who had requested the Carthaginian *ordo* to provide a public site; cf. Rives (1994) 274, 283. Rives, *o.c.* 281, takes the speech against the Oeans to be connected with some dispute that arose while Apuleius stayed at Oea and supposes Augustine has simply got the details wrong. For a statue apparently set up to Apuleius at Madauros by his fellow citizens see *ILAlg* 1, 2115 with Rives, *o.c.* 278; Walsh (1994) xi.

inscriptions of C. Otidius Iovinus at Simitthus (no. 3), L. Iulius Cerialis at Bulla Regia (no. 4; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LIV) and P. Mummius Saturninus at Furnos Maius (no. 10) are consistent in recording the provincial priest's name, that of his father, his tribe, and his year of tenure reckoned by the year of an era rather than by consuls. Such details look directly in line with the prescription of the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* that, if the council should so decide, the retiring high priest shall be given a statue recording his name, his father's name, his place of origin and the year of his term (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964, lines 11ff.). The principal differences are that the place of origin is omitted, no doubt as superfluous in a local municipal text, and the *cursus* is included, sometimes in detail, as, say, in municipal inscriptions of Narbonensis that attest priests of the province. It seems quite possible, therefore, that just as in Baetica (cf. *CIL* 2^2/7, 799) these local records echo procedure at the provincial centre of Proconsularis, where similar regulations will have been in force to those in Narbonensis.

ii. *The Priestly Title*

Two features immediately differentiate the priesthood of Proconsularis from that of any other province of the Latin West: the annual tenure is dated by the year of some sort of era and there is a later modification in the title of the provincial priest. As we have seen, at least four texts (nos. 3, 4, 10, 11) date the provincial priesthood by the year of an era which can be calculated from coordinates to have begun in A.D. 70–2, so the very beginning of the Flavian era.[3] The foundation of a provincial cult of Proconsularis at this stage would be in line with the contemporary installation of a provincial worship in Narbonensis, probably Baetica, perhaps also Sardinia, likewise with the reform of provincial cults in Tres Galliae, Hither Spain and Lusitania. Evidently the era in question was religious not political, therefore, in all probability modelled on a similar era used by the priests of the Cereres, who were based at Carthage, the headquarters of the provincial cult.

Late under Trajan the title of the provincial priest changed from *flamen* to *sacerdos*.[4] Whereas the two terms seem in other provinces to have been appropriate to different forms of cults, there is no evidence in Proconsularis to suggest that any change took place in the nature of

[3] Vol. I, 2, 262, cf. 220–1; Vol. III, 1, 128–30.
[4] Vol. III, 1, 190–3.

the official worship, which looks to have been addressed to the living emperor in company with the deified dead *ab initio*. To all appearances the change to *sacerdos* was a purely formal modification, influenced again perhaps by the use of the more prestigious title *sacerdos* in the Carthaginian cult of the Cereres. A final development is the appearance of *sacerdotalis* in records from the time of Marcus Aurelius. The term implies simply that on completion of his term of one year the occupant of the provincial priesthood retained his rank, presumably along with a seat on the provincial council.

iii. *Origin and Social Background*

As a rule, priests were drawn from within a province, though in light of his *cognomen* and enrolment in the tribe Galeria C. Caecilius Gallus (no. 1) may have orginated in Lugdunum.[5] Whether C. Iulius Crescens (no. 2) was identical with or related to his homonym at Périgueux in Aquitania (*CIL* 13, 992) can hardly be said;[6] if this is the same individual, he too must have migrated to Proconsularis as it would have been highly irregular to choose as high priest someone residing in another province, in this case one of the distant Gauls.[7] The point is illustrated by the career of P. Iulius Liberalis (no. 15), who served as *flamen perpetuus* at Thysdrus, some 200 miles from his *patria* of Thamugadi, where he held four magistracies and, after his provincial priesthood, the perpetual flaminate. R. P. Duncan-Jones suggests that the purpose of this distant priesthood may have been to qualify for election to the provincial priesthood of Proconsularis following its separation from Numidia, in which Thamugadi was now situated.[8] While there is no direct evidence one can call on, what does seem generally to be the case is that towns which produced provincial priests already had the status of *municipium* or *colonia*.[9] Nothing indicates that members of peregrine communities were eligible for election, though we have noted the election in Lusitania of a provincial priest who was legally a *peregrinus* (above, pp. 145–7). Whether the provincial priesthood rotated among the towns of Proconsularis can hardly be determined; with most of the major centres

[5] First suggested by Nicolet (1966) 184 with nn. 24bis-26.
[6] Kindly noted by J.-P. Bost. See now the commentary forthcoming in *ILA*.
[7] Deininger (1965) 151. For two exceptions in Baetica see below, p. 232.
[8] Duncan-Jones (1968) 157; Gascou (1979) 101.
[9] Duncan-Jones, *o.c.* 155.

under-represented the surviving evidence is too limited to confirm any definite system.[10] All that can safely be said is that the accident of survival has preserved groups of priests from the same area at roughly the same time: Simitthus and Bulla Regia on the border between Proconsularis and Numidia *ca.* 109–12 (nos. 3, 4); in Numidia itself Cirtensis, Rusicade and Cuicul *ca.* 70–110 (nos. 1, 2); in Byzecena Althiburos and Furnos Maius in the latter part of the second century (nos. 9, 10), Ammaedara and Thamugadi in the first half or so of the third century (nos. 14, 15). These examples plainly raise the possibility of inter-city competition, especially when in three cases the priest is said to have been the first from his own city to have held office (nos. 2, 3, 4). Such rivalry would go far to explaining spells of a few years in which provincial priests came from one particular area of the province.

Equal uncertainty surrounds the social background of those priests whose records have survived. No examples occur of priests drawn from the same family nor for the most part do the surviving records give any clue to family relationships. One exception is L. Calpurnius Augustalis (no. 6), whose father looks to be commemorated on an epitaph at Thubursicu recording that an L. Calpurnius Asprenas died at the ripe old age of 95 (*ILAlg*, 1, 1479).[11] Presumably he was connected with the family of the Nonii Asprenates, which is familiar in African epigraphy for its contribution to the imperial administration.[12] In any event there can be no doubt that these priests were generally drawn from the Romanized elite of local towns. This emerges from the details recorded in their inscriptions, seven of which give the name, filiation and Roman tribe (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 13, 15), one the name and the tribe (no. 6), five just the name (nos. 2, 7, 9, ?12, 14), while one is incomplete (no. 11); the *tria nomina* are epigraphically recorded of all appointees except Apuleius, whose priesthood we know from literary sources. A firm indication of social status is given in the case of M. Corneleius Proculeius (no. 14), who, as a knight and the son of a knight, might be loosely compared with C. Licinius Marinus Voconius Romanus, the priest of Hither Spain whose standing and pedigree are reported by Pliny (*Ep.* 2, 13, 3ff.).[13] C. Caecilius Gallus (no. 1), in contrast, was the

[10] Duncan-Jones, *o.c* . 154–5.

[11] Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 74.

[12] Thomasson (1960) 19–21 (L. Nonius Asprenas), 48–50 (L. Nonius Asprenas), 51 (Asprenas); *id.* (1984) nos. 16, 52, 56; (1990) nos. 90, 118; (1996) 27, no. 17, 45, n. 51.

[13] *RE* 9A, 1 (1961) 698–704 (Schuster).

first member of his family to reach equestrian rank, as the formula *habens equum publicum* confirms.[14] With the possible exception of this individual (see above), it is hardly possible to judge whether a priest is of local or foreign origin, though later priests will surely have been drawn from families long settled in the province.

iv. *Career*

a. Prior Offices

Most provincial priests look to have pursued a municipal career, usually in the town where they were born; whether this is true in cases where there is no mention of municipal posts (nos. 2, 8, 12, 14) can hardly be confirmed.[15] Whatever the facts may be in this regard, only in one instance (no. 11) is a priest possibly recorded as *omn*[*ibus honoribus … functus*], presumably because the formula did not become established in African epigraphical practice before the latter part of the second century;[16] elsewhere, notably in Tres Galliae and Hispania citerior, it was common usage by the reign of Hadrian. In contrast P. Mummius Saturninus (no. 10) is reported to have served only as *decurio* and *duumvir* at Furnos Maius, whereas multiple offices such as *quaestor, aedilis, praefectus i. d., IIvir* or *flamen perpetuus* are mentioned in the local careers of L. Iulius Cerealis (no. 4), L. Calpurnius Augustalis (no. 6), A. Luccius … Felix Blaesianus (no. 7), P. Mummius Saturninus (no. 10), and P. Iulius Liberalis (no. 15). With a total of seven possible examples, priests who have pursued an entirely municipal career prior to the provincial priesthood (nos. 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, ?13, 15) make up by far the largest category, just as in Hither Spain. One of the most distinguished priests of Africa, C. Caecilius Gallus (no. 1) pursued an outstanding career at Cirta within the confederation of four colonies, then served at Rome, where he held multiple posts as *praefectus fabrum* alongside two consuls and two praetors. After receiving the *ornamenta quinqennalicia* by decree of the senate of Cirta he was elected a member of the third

[14] Above, p. 174 with n. 60.

[15] Pflaum (1968) 178, takes all provincial priests of Proconsularis to have pursued a local municipal career. Apuleius (no. 8) was evidently qualifed on the basis of his wealth but is not recorded to have held municipal office at Carthage. Presumably his eminence as a writer and orator secured his appointment to the *concilium*, by which he will have been elected provincial priest. See, however, below, pp. 195–6 with n. 32.

[16] Duncan-Jones (1968) 158.

decury of the five panels of jurors, then embarked upon a municipal career at Rusicade, where among other local offices he served as *flamen* of Divus Iulius.[17] In the end he was evidently chosen as a representative of his colony on the provincial *concilium* since his daughter's epitaph confirms that he was finally elected provincial *flamen*. Equestrian rank is likewise explicitly mentioned in the careers of M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus (no. 9), an unknown priest at Mactar (no. 11), M. Cornelius Proculeianus (no. 14: Pl. 60),[18] perhaps also A. Luccius … Felix Blaesianus (no. 7), while C. Otidius Iovinus (no. 3) is attested as *praefectus fabrum*; unless his *cursus* fails to mention other posts, this inscription records the sole example in Proconsularis of a priest who had held only equestrian office before the provincial *sacerdotium*, though equestrian status without equestrian posts is recorded in two instances (nos. 11, 14). Otherwise the municipal careers of A. Luccius Felix Blaesianus (no. 7) and M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus (no. 9) were capped by their election to the jury panels, a sequence notable in Hither Spain; C. Caecilius Gallus (no. 1) attained this honour after previous equestrian service. In addition L. Iulius Cerialis (no. 4) looks to have served in the capacity of legate of the province of Africa, perhaps as member of an embassy.

While the previous holding of special offices seems not to have been mandatory, equestrian rank and office will in practice have given appropriate administrative experience, as would earlier service at the municipal level; more technically, a municipal priesthood would provide training in religious procedure. This explains why the perpetual flaminate could be the occasion of extraordinary generosity on the part of the appointee.[19] Like the office of *flamen* or *flamen annuus*, the perpetual flaminate was for one year but on the usual interpretation the term implies that the holder retained his rank and honorary title, a distinction that must have strengthened his claims to be chosen for service on the provincial assembly. No doubt it is for this reason that provincial priests tend to be drawn from the wealthy local aristocracy, for by fund-

[17] Pflaum (1968) 154–5, noting that the formula *habens equum publicum* is unique in Africa; cf. 181, 184, 190–2, 195.

[18] Duncan-Jones (1968) 157, notes that his title *eques Romanus* is not attested in African epigraphy before Septimius Severus. Pflaum (1968) 178, suggests that the ascension of local elites accelerated at the end of the second century particularly under the Severi, who originated from Lepcis Magna.

[19] Pflaum, Flamines (1976) 155–6 *ad CIL* 8, 26606 (= *ILS* 9364), 26607, 26528, *ILTun* 1405.

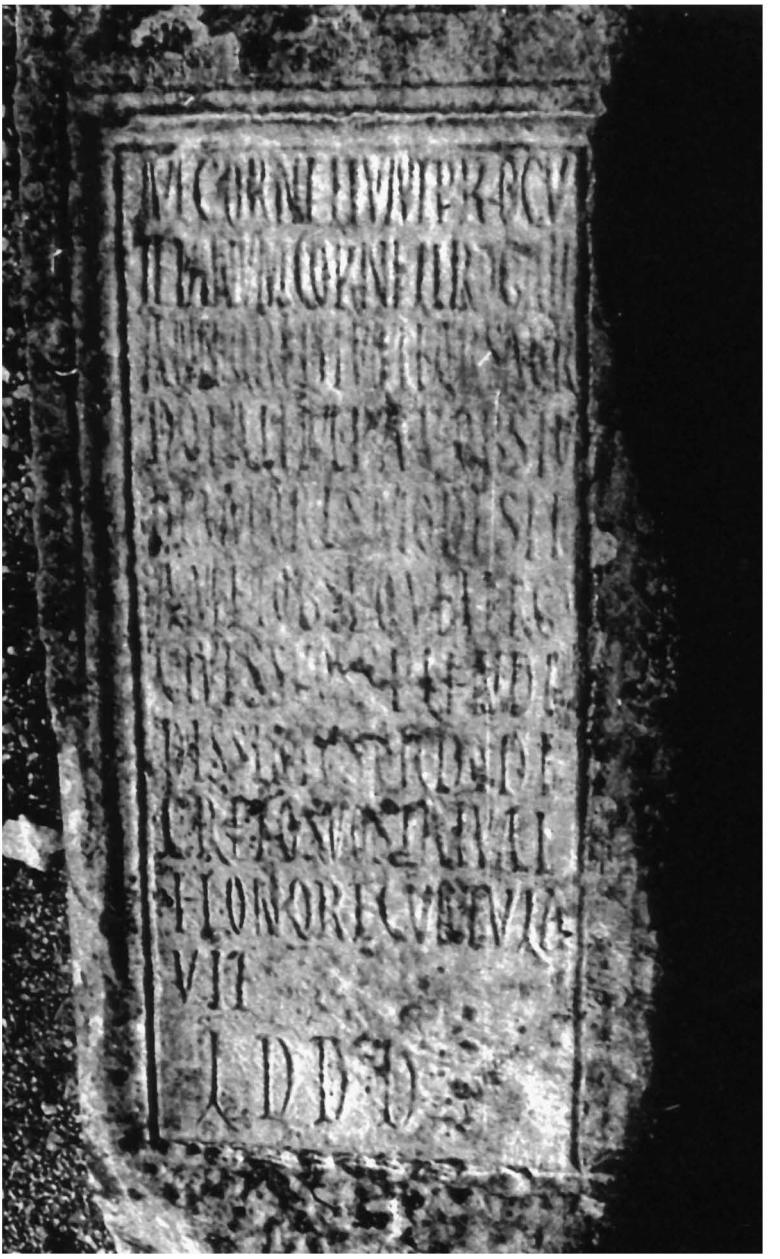


Plate 60. Inscription of M. Cornelius Proculeianus.

ing public works a local worthy could advertise his own suitability as a potential delegate of the city. At least six of the provincial priests are said to have held the office of *flamen perpetuus* (nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, ?13, 15). Still, nothing goes to show that tenure of a local flaminate was obligatory or that *legati* were necessarily chose from the *flamines perpetui*.[20] Nor is it necessarily relevant that P. Mummius Saturninus (no. 10) actually refused a local flaminate in his town, apparently after his provincial priesthood: he might well have held a local priesthood elsewhere before provincial office just as did P. Iulius Liberalis (no. 15), *flamen perpetuus* at Thysdrus.[21] Previous experience was plainly a reasonable requirement since it was as delegate of his particular city that a man served on the provincial council, over which he might eventually preside. The number of delegates that each city sent to the provincial *concilium* is not known, though some sort of proportional representation has been suggested, depending on the importance of a community and the number of its inhabitants.[22]

As for the specific stage in a career at which one held provincial office, this was self-evidently at the close of an entirely municipal *cursus* in the cases of C. Iulius Crescens (no. 2), L. Iulius Cerealis (no. 4), P. Sextilius Felix (no. 5), L. Calpurnius Augustalis (no. 6), P. Mummius Saturninus (no. 10), P. Iulius Liberalis (no. 15), presumably also an unknown priest at Mactar (no. 11), who received the public horse but is not recorded to have held any equestrian office. The same may be true in other instances where no specific municipal offices are mentioned, in particular M. Asper Aurelianus (no. 12) and M. Cornelius Proculeianus (no. 14), who was a knight and the son of a knight. In the remaining careers, however, we have seen that equestrian status is explicit or self-evident from the office or offices of the lower equestrian *cursus* which the priest had held. Among these C. Caecliius Gallus (no. 1) must have held the provincial flaminate at the very end of his career since the office is mentioned only in the epitaph of his daughter Caecilia Nigellina (*CIL* 8, 7987 = *ILAlg* 2, 71) and omitted in the detailed *cursus* commemorating his funding of a *tribunal* and *rostra* at Rusicade (*CIL* 8, 7986 = *ILS* 6862 = *ILAlg* 2, 36).[23] Whether C. Otidius Iovinus (no. 3)

[20] For the point that *legati* are often, but not necessarily, chosen from the *flamines perpetui* see *AE* (1978) 832. See in general Rives (1995) 93.

[21] Vol. I, 2, 258 with n. 6, citing Duncan-Jones (1968) 157; Gascou (1979) 191.

[22] Deininger (1965) 143.

[23] Pflaum (1968) 154–5. Above, p. 192, n. 17.

held the priesthood of Africa before or after the office of *praefectus fabrum* is unclear; the issue is complicated by the fact that his *titulus* may have been drafted a year or two after Iovinus held provincial office (cf. no. 4). A. Luccius Felix Blaesianus (no. 7) plainly served as *sacerdos provinciae Africae* after a municipal career at Utica which itself was preceded by "adlection" to the five decuries.[24] Lastly, M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus (no. 9), a knight, looks to have been assigned to the five decuries, then to have been *flamen perpetuus* at Althiburus before holding the provincial *sacerdotium*.[25]

A conspicuous anomaly in this overall picture is the controversial priesthood of Apuleius, who was born at Madauros but brought up at Carthage, where he later came to fame as a Platonic philosopher, rhetorician and poet.[26] If he did serve as provincial *sacerdos*, his election reveals that a previous career in administration, whether imperial or municipal, was not mandatory—or at least there is no record of any such service on his part.[27] The evidence on which his priesthood rests is Augustine's statement that as *sacerdos provinciae* Apuleius made a fuss so that he could sponsor games and clothe those who fought beasts in the arena, as well as take to court certain citizens opposed to the erection of his statue at Oea, his wife's *patria*: *qui sacerdos provinciae pro magno fuit, ut munera ederet venatoresque vestiret* … (*Ep.* 138, 4, 19). Aside from the plain statement of Augustine that he was priest of the province, the spectacles displayed by Apuleius look entirely consistent with what was expected of a provincial priest, who throughout the west, it would appear, was expected to underwrite the games celebrated during his term of one year.[28] As a result, every priest had to be wealthy enough to sustain the financial burden of office, a requirement easily met in the case of Apuleius, who had inherited a considerable fortune (*Apol.* 23, 1) and married a rich widow, considerably older than himself.

Against this standard interpretation Rives has made the interesting suggestion that Apuleius may have rather been a priest of Aesculapius.[29]

---

[24] Pflaum, *o.c.* 175, 178, 184ff.

[25] Pflaum, *o.c.* 170. Duncan-Jones (1968) 157 puts adlection to the *decuriae* after Samunianus' provincial priesthood—contrary to the sequence of the cursus.

[26] For a convenient summary with earlier bibliography see *KP* 1, 471–3 (Dörrie). Full discussion in Rives (1994) 278–80.

[27] Cf. Augustinus, *Ep.* 138, 19: … *sed ne ad aliquam quidem iudiciariam rei publicae potestam cum omnibus suis magicis artibus potuit pervenire* … .

[28] Questioned by Rives (1994) 280, n. 20. For expenditure on games by provincial priests in the Latin west see Vol. II, 1, 574–82 with refs.

[29] *Id.* (1994) 273–88.

The author notes that in thanking the Carthaginian *ordo* for the honour of a public statue, Apuleius refers to his priesthood as "the highest honour of Carthage": *Immo etiam docuit argumento suscepti sacerdotii, summum mihi honorem Carthaginis adesse* (*Flor.*, 16, 73). This should therefore be a prestigious civic office, possibly "the priesthood of Ceres" but more probably that of Aesculapius, likewise an apparently annual public office which Apuleius may have been one of the first to hold.[30] Rives points out that the prior career of Apuleius does not conform to that other provincial priests[31] and suggests that Augustine could have mistakenly inferred that Apuleius was provincial priest of the imperial cult and so imaginatively attributed to him actions he thought typical of this important *sacerdotium*.

The difficulties noted by Rives in identifying Apuleius as a provincial priest are certainly substantial, particularly the inconsistency of his earlier career with the standard municipal *cursus* of other provincial priests.[32] The question is whether Apuleius' description of his office as *summus honor Carthaginis* fits the priesthood of Aesculapius. To judge from the epigraphical record, in particular the place in the *cursus* at which it was held, this priesthood was held by Cathaginian notables, yet hardly the highest honour one could hold in the city.[33] In contrast the *sacerdotium* of the provincial cult was extremely prestigious, in most cases the pinnacle of a man's career and held in some cases after one or more equestrian offices. More to the point, while not a peculiarly Carthaginian honour, it was nevertheless served at Carthage, the headquarters of the provincial cult. If the same regulations applied here as at Narbo and elsewhere, the provincial priest will also have been an honorary decurion of Carthage during his year's term; whether his status in this capacity approximated to the rank of the town *duoviri* is not revealed by the extant sources. As for the games sponsored by Apuleius, it is conceivable that Augustine could have attributed *munera* to a priesthood he mistook for provincial,[34] but Apuleius' reported generosity in

[30] Rives (1995) 181–4.

[31] On the untypical pattern of Apuleius' career see in general Rives (1994) 281–2.

[32] But see Étienne (1999) 144, arguing that personal qualities and social position, in lieu of a municipal career, could secure election as a delegate on the provincial *concilium*.

[33] Rives (1994) 285, citing *inter alia CIL* 8, 26185. See further *id.* (1995) 181–2 with refs.

[34] Games were certainly held at Carthage in honour of Aesculapius and no doubt financed by his priest but these were Greek games to which competitors flocked from as far afield as Ostia: Rives (1995) 181, cf. 1. Blood sports, in contrast, seem to have been associated in the provinces strictly with celebrations of the imperial cult: Price (1984)

outfitting *venatores* looks like a detail drawn from a fuller source rather than an invention on the part of Augustine himself.[35] Despite the legitimate difficulties Rives recognizes in the traditional identification, then, it seems best to accept the authority of Augustine and follow the *communis opinio* that Apuleius was after all priest of the provincial imperial cult rather than of Aesculapius.

b. Later Offices

In conclusion it is worth noting that although the priesthood of the province might be the pinnacle of a man's career, it by no means precluded the possibility of later offices even at the municipal level.[36] Thus P. Mummius Saturninus (no. 10) looks to have been offered a municipal flaminate at Furnos Maius following his term as *sac. p. A.* (above, p. 194).[37] Why Saturninus refused in that case is unclear: was the *pronaos* of a temple of Mercury that he funded [*ob*] *excusation(em) honor(is)* at a cost of HS 6000—plus the customary liberality on the occasion of

89. It is impossible, therefore, that the details Augustine reports refer to the games held in honour of Aesculapius and that Augustine has mistakenly associated them with the games of the provincial imperial cult—not that Rives makes any suggestion along these lines.

[35] Rives (1994) 280.

[36] Alföldy (1973) 54–6, noting that in Hispania citerior it seems to have become general practice not to confer lower offices such as municipal magistracies on past priests. A clear exception to the rule is a regional or civic priesthood in a man's home town, the highest honour that his compatriots could pay a distinguished local citizen. The closest parallel to the careers of P. Mummius Saturninus or P. Iulius Liberalis in Proconsularis looks to be the *cursus* of Porcia Materna (*CIL* 2, 4241), who first was provincial priestess and only subsequently *flaminica perpetua* in three towns. Since, however, so much of our evidence in Hispania citerior consists of inscribed pedestals of statues set up to provincial priests directly or shortly after their tenure, the possibility of subsequent equestrian posts remains open.

[37] See further the discussion in Illuminati (1977) 263–71; Rives (1995) 93. Illuminati suggests that Saturninus may have refused the flaminate because he was nominated contemporaneously *flamen* of his *municipium* and provincial priest of Africa. This is clearly impossible since to be elected provincial priest one must already be a member of the *concilium*, in which capacity Saturninus would hardly be nominated municipal *flamen*. Past service as civic *flamen* or *flamen perpetuus* is conversely a common enough qualification towards appointment as *legatus* on the provincial council. Nor is it possible that Saturninus served simultaneously as provincial priest (which would have meant residing at Carthage for the year) and municipal priest (Illuminati, *o.c.* 265–6); the combination of the two offices would in any case have been financially crushing. While the municipal flaminate could certainly count towards eventual election as provincial priest, there is nothing to exclude holding the post *after* provincial office. See above, n. 35.

the dedication (*CIL* 8, 12030)—a less expensive undertaking than the potential costs associated with the civic flaminate? That it was not unthinkable to hold local office after the provincial priesthood looks at any rate clear from the *cursus* of P. Iulius Liberalis (no. 15), who subsequently served as *flamen perpetuus* at his *patria* of Thamugadi and *patronus* at Verecunda. An entirely different situation is presented by the career of M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus (no. 9), whose *cursus* records on Merlin's reading that he was appointed [*p*]*ro*[*c.*] *Aug. bis* following the provincial priesthood. While uncommon or at least rarely in evidence, the possibility of holding lower procuratorships after a provincial priesthood has been raised with reference to the provincial priests of Hispania citerior.[38] In contrast subsequent equestrian postings seem relatively common in Narbonensis, where they could include the *curatio* of cities.[39] On the other hand there is no indication in present testimony from Proconsularis of a second tenure of the provincial priesthood, instances of which are certainly known in Hither Spain and Narbonensis (*AE*, 1908, 149; *ILGN* 634).

v. *The Priestly Office*

The system of dating the incumbent's term according to the *annus* of the cult era confirms that, once elected by his fellow delegates on the *concilium*,[40] the provincial priest served for one year, precisely as in other provinces. No evidence in Africa throws light on the process of selection nor do we know if the chairman elect was styled *designatus* as in Hither Spain or Baetica (below, p. 295),[41] but if regulations similar to those in force in Gallia Narbonensis were applicable in Proconsularis, he will presumably have served as a *decurio* on the local *ordo* at Carthage throughout his tenure. It would have been particularly helpful to have some indication of the religious duties of the provincial priest but lack of evidence on this side of his functions is compensated to some extent by

[38] Alföldy (1973) 55. See above, p. 94.

[39] Gayraud (1981) 397–407. See above, p. 178.

[40] Cf. a fourth-century inscription which honours Iulius Festus Hymetius and refers to renewed competition for the provincial priesthood (*CIL* 6, 1736). On the assembly established by Vespasian see in general Rives (1995) 85–96, suggesting (87 with n. 142) that towns without Roman or Latin status may have been excluded from participation since delegates will have needed Roman citizenship.

[41] Alföldy (1973) 44.

traces of administrative activity on the part of the *concilium* he chaired.[42] For example, the four towns of Madauros, Thuburbo Maius, Gigthis and Thigibba have produced almost identical dedications to the Genius of the most sacred Senate *ob expertam iustitiam servatae defensaeque provinciae Africae.*[43] As the dedications at Gigthis and Madauros are explicitly said to have been erected in accordance with its decree, the council must have enacted that statues of the *genius* of the Roman Senate should be set up, then sent copies of the ruling to all cities of the province. The circumstances are obscure but, as Mommsen first suggested, the assembly may have acted out of gratitude for the senate's verdict in condemning some governor against whom the province had laid a complaint. A similar decision by the *concilium* looks to be documented at the small, peregrine centre of Uccula, where an inscription records that the *civitas* erected a statue in honour of a *flamen* of Divus Titus at Carthage "by the decree of the Africans" (*CIL* 8, 14364 = *ILS* 6813). At Thamugadi, in contrast, the council itself raised an honorific statue to the son of a local citizen who was currently imperial procurator in the province (*CIL* 8, 17899 with refs., cf. 17900). We have noted comparable instances of monuments raised locally by the council of Tres Galliae (above, p. 24). What purpose lay behind the provincial embassy in which L. Iulius Cerealis (no. 4) apparently participated is unknown but everything suggests he will have served as *pr*[*ovinci*]*ae Afric. leg*[*(atus?)* … (*AE*, 1964, 177) in his capacity as member of the *concilium*. Lastly, there is the evidence of Augustine that the provincial priesthood involved staging public games (*Ep.* 138, 4, 19). That this was a standard liturgy of provincial priests is confirmed by the inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnis (*ILTG* 341) and vividly illustrated by an ivory *diptychon* of *ca.* A.D. 400 that shows an imperial priest presiding at games (Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXXVI a,b). Of particular interest is his sacerdotal crown, which Tertullian mentions with specific reference to the provincial priests of Africa: *Igitur purpura illa et aurum cervicis ornamentum eodem more apud Aegyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis, quo more nunc praetextae vel trabeae vel palmatae et coronae aureae sacerdotum provincialium, sed non eadem condicione.* (*De Idolol.* 18, 1; cf. *CIL*, 8, 17896: lines 9–10).

[42] Rives (1995) 88–91.

[43] *ILAlg* 1, 2045 (= *AE*, 1921, 27); *ILAfr* 241 (= *BCTH*, 1917, 100–1, no. 10); *ILTun* 7 (= *CIL* 8, 11017); *CIL* 8, 23604. For discussion see Deininger (1965) 134; Rives (1995) 90.

vi. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

Fifteen provincial priests are recorded at irregular intervals over the period from the Flavians down to the mid-third century. Three of these (nos. 3, 4, 10) can be dated to within a couple of years of their precise tenure, three others can be assigned either to a particular reign (nos. 8, 12) or at least to within two reigns (no. 9), and two are of particular interest in documenting the change from *flamen* to *sacerdos* under Trajan (nos. 3, 4). The inference that the original term *flamen* points to the inclusion of deified rulers *ab initio*[44] looks confirmed by two inscriptions (nos. 2, 4) in which *flamen Aug.* is surely to be developed … *Aug(ustorum*) or *Aug(ustalis)* rather than *Aug(usti)*, but thereafter there is nothing to show any subsequent change in the nature of the cult. It would appear, then, that throughout its history the provincial cult of Africa Proconsularis was directed to the living emperor in combination with the deified dead—but without the inclusion of Roma, of whom there is no trace in surviving records. Evidently the modification of the priestly title from *flamen* to *sacerdos* had no bearing on the historical development of the provincial cult.

vii. *Priests of Africa Proconsularis*

1. C. Caecilius Q. *f.* Gal. Gallus
Origin: Rusicade? Lugdunum?
Find-Spot: Rusicade
Title: *flamen provinciae*
Municipal Career: *aed. hab. iur.dic. q. pro praet., praef. pro IIIvir.IIII, hab. orn. quinq. d. d., quinquennalis, praef. i. d. Rusicadi, flam. divi Iuli*
Imperial Career: *hab. equum pub., praef. fabr., cos.II et praet. II, ex v. decuriis dec. III*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 70–100
References: *CIL* 8, 7986; *ILAlg* 2, 36; *CIL* 8, 7987; *ILAlg* 2, 71

[44] The view of Clauss (1999) 399, that in the Julio-Claudian period the provincial priest of Numidia may have been termed *flamen Divi Iuli*, which then became *flamen provinciae* under Vespasian (cf. *ILAlg* 2, 36, 71: no. 1) is in error on every particular. See Vol. I, 2, 346, n. 176.

2. C. Iulius Crescens
Origin: Cuicul
Find-Spot: Cuicul
Title: *flamen Aug. provinciae Africae*
Date: before *ca.* A.D. 110–12
References: *AE* (1916) 13; *AE* (1925) 23–4; *AE* (1949) 40

3. C. Otidius P. *f.* Quir. Iovinus
Origin: Simitthus
Find-Spot: Simitthus
Title: *sacerdos provinc. Afric. anni xxxviiii*
Imperial Career: *praefectus fabrum*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 109–11
References: *CIL* 8, 14611

4. L. Iulius L. *f.* Quir. Cerealis
Origin: Bulla Regia
Find-Spot: Bulla Regia
Title: *flam. Aug. provinciae*
Municipal Career: [*A*]*fric. anni xxxx*
Imperial Career: *q., aed., praef. i. d., flam.* [*A*]*ug. perp. municipi su*[*i*]; *pr*[*ovinci*]*ae Afric. leg[(atus)*?[45]
Date: *ca.* A.D. 110–12
References: *ILAfr* 458 + *AE* (1964) 177

5. P. Sextilius P. *f.* Arn. Felix
Origin: Ghardimau
Find-Spot: Ghardimau
Title: *sacerdos provinciae Africae*
Municipal Career: *flam. Aug. pp.*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 112–70
References: *CIL* 8, 14731

[45] While not a municipal office, the post of legate of the province of Africa may have been served while L. Iulius Cerialis represented Bulla Regia on the provincial council, unless he was already a past provincial priest at this point. See above, p. 199.

6. L. Calpurnius Papir. Augustalis [Aspr]enatis *f* [*il.*?
Origin: Thubursicu Numidarum
Find-Spot: Thubursicu Numidarum
Title: [*sacerdos*?] *pr. Af* [*r.*?[46]
Municipal Career: [*aed*]*ilis, IIvir*, [*flamen*] *perp.*
Date: *ca.* 112–70
References: *ILAlg* 1, 1295; Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998)

7. A. Luccius … Felix Blaesianus
Origin: Utica
Find-Spot: Utica
Title: *sac*[*erdos*] *provinciae Afri*[*cae a(nni)* ?]
Municipal Career: [*aed*]*ilis, IIvir. III*, [*IIvir. q.q.*?], *fl. perpet.*
Imperial Career: [*equo pub*?], *in V de*[*c. adlectus*
Date: mid-second century
References: *CIL* 8, 25385

8. Apuleius
Origin: Madauros
Title: *sacerdos provinciae*
Date: *ca.* 160–80
References: Augustinus, *Ep.* 138, 4, 19; Apuleius, *Flor.* 16, 73

9. M. Helvius Melior P[la]c[e]n[t]ius Sabinianus Samunianus
Origin: Althiburos
Find-Spot: Althiburos
Title: *sacerdotal. prov. Afric.*
Municipal Career: *fl. pp.*
Imperial Career: *equo publ., in V dec. adlectus*, [*p*]*ro*[*c*] *Aug. bis*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 161–92
References: *CIL* 8, 16472, cf. p. 2722 + *ILTun* 1647

[46] Most commentators have followed S. Gsell in taking L. Calpurnius Augustalis to be [*sacerdoti*] *pr. Af* [*ricae pr*]*imo*: that is, first from his municipality of Thubursicu Numidarum to serve as provincial priest; cf. Vol. I, 2, 228, n. 35; Duncan-Jones (1968) 158 (no. 13). For the view that his *cursus* should be read [*sacerdoti*] | *pr(ovinciae) Af* [*r(icae)*

10. P. Mummius L. *f.* Papir. Saturninus
Origin: Furnos Maius
Find-Spot: Furnos Maius
Title: *sac. p. A. a. cxiii*
Municipal Career: *dec., IIvi*[*ra*]*l. cui ordo honorem fl. obtulit*
Date: A.D. 183–5
References: *CIL* 8, 12039

11. Ignotus … Papir.
Origin: Mactaris
Find-Spot: Mactaris
Title: [*sac.? prov. A*]*fr. an*[*ni*
Municipal Career: *omn*[*ibus honoribus … functus*?]
Imperial Career: *equo publico*
Date: late second century?
References: *BCTH* (1951/2) 197; Picard (1959) 266

12. M. … Asper Aurelianus
Origin: Lepcis Magna
Find-Spot: Lepcis Magna
Title: *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae*
Date: A.D. 198–209
References: *IRT* 397

13. Q. Iulius M. *f.* Quir. Severus M[andus?]
Origin: Gigthis
Find-Spot: Gigthis
Title: *sacer. pro*[*v. Afr.?*]
Municipal Career: [*f. p.*]
Date: second/third century
References: *ILTun* 36

cui pr]*i*|*mo o*[*rdo et popul*]*us* | *in cu*[*rias cont*]*ribu*|*tus a*[*ere conla*]*to ob* | *merita* [*statuam*?] *dedic(averunt)* see Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998) 77–81, arguing that his inscription records he was the first provincial priest to be given a statue by public subscription.

14. M. Cornelius Proculeianus
Origin: Ammaedara
Find-Spot: Ammaedara
Title: *sacerdotalis p. A. v.*
Imperial Career: *eq. R. filius eq. R.*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 200–40
References: *CIL* 8, 11546
(Pl. 60)

15. P. Iulius P. *filius* Papiria Liberalis
Origin: Thamugadi
Find-Spot: Thamugadi Verecunda Cuicul
Title: (A) *sacerdot*[*a*]*lis p. A.*; (B) *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae*; (C) *idem*
Municipal Career: *q., praef. i. d., IIvir, IIvir et q.q., f. p.* (Thysdrus), *f. p.* (Thamugadi), *patronus* (Verecunda)
Date: mid-third century
References: (A) Boeswillwald–Cagnat–Ballu (1905) 318; *CIL* 8, 2343; (B) *CIL* 8, 4252; (C) *AE* (1914) 41; Gascou (1979) 189–96

CHAPTER SEVEN

MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS

A single provincial priest is recorded in the Mauretaniae under the Principate: Sex(tus) Valerius Municeps, *flamen provinciae* (no. 1).[1] As his inscription comes from Caesarea, the provincial capital, he was plainly high priest of Mauretania Caesariensis. No details of his municipal career are known but the circumstance that his tribe is Quirina presumably implies he was elected to the provincial council as a representative of the city of Caesarea. His inscription records that he was honoured with the public horse, though there is nothing to show whether his career included one or more equestrian posts before the provincial priesthood.[2] The most notable feature of his *cursus* for present purposes is that the provincial title was *flamen* as in Proconsularis; no trace of *sacerdos* occurs at the provincial level in Roman Mauretania. We have seen that this might have a bearing on the date when the provincial cult was founded.[3] The only other particulars to emerge are that he may have been a votary (*cultor*) of Liber Pater—the text is defective at line 6—and that the inscription was erected to him as *patronus* by the guild of shop-keepers (*caupones*). The priesthood must fall after the foundation of the cult (possibly under Vespasian) but mention of the tribe has been thought to place it before A.D. 250.[4]

To this record can be added a trace of a provincial priestess of Caesariensis (no. 1).[5] A recently recovered altar marking her burial place bears a funerary poem honouring Rubria Festa, the wife of Iulius Secundus—whether the husband was a provincial *flamen* as frequently the case is not stated. The poem is notable for recording that Rubria Festa has received the attributes of the provincial *flaminica*, the golden

[1] Deininger (1965) 132 with n. 4; Illuminati (1977) 270 with n. 34; Bassignano (1974) 350–1.

[2] Cf. M. Cornelius Proculeianus of Ammaedara, priest of Proconsularis (*CIL* 8, 11546).

[3] Vol. I, 2, 282–94, especially 293–4; Vol. III, 1, 131–2.

[4] Bassignano (1974) 351 with n. 15, citing Pallu de Lessert (1884) 57–8.

[5] Agusta-Boullarot–Bousbaa (1993–95) 108–14.

fillet and crown;[6] these will surely have been conferred by the members of the provincial council, here styled *patres*, not the members of the local *ordo*, who had no say in her election: … *exornata summo honore magno iudicio patrum | aurea vitta et corona Mauricae provinciae | …* . Besides the fact that she produced ten children and died at the age of thirty-six years and forty days, the only other detail to be gleaned is that she evidently originated from Cherchel, where the *gentilicium* is already known.

i. *Priests of Mauretania Caesariensis*

1. Sex. Valerius L. *filius* Quiri. Municeps
Origin: Caesarea
Find-Spot: Caesarea
Title: *flamen provinciae*
Imperial Career: *equo publico exornato*
Date: late first to mid-third century?
References: *CIL* 8, 9409, 21066

ii. *Priestesses of Mauretania Caesariensis*

1. Rubria Festa
Origin: Caesarea
Find-Spot: Caesarea
Title: (*flaminica provinciae*)
Date: late first/second century
References: *AE* (1995) 1793

[6] Above, Vol. II, 1, 475–81, noting the golden crown of Vibia Modesta, the local priestess at Italica, who likewise originated from Mauretania. The *vitta* of the municipal priestess was purple according to Festus.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MAURETANIA TINGITANA

No provincial priest of Mauretania Tingitana is recorded but two *flaminicae* of the province have left their traces at Volubilis.[1] In contrast to the diverse titles of municipal priestesses these are in each case styled simply *flaminica*, so it can hardly be doubted that in Tingitana the priestly title will have been *flamen* exactly as in Caesariensis. The first inscription, set up to his wife by M. Valerius Sassius Pudens, preserves only the name]a Ocratiana, the daughter of Ocratius (no. 1; Vol. I, 2, Pl. LVIIIb), but gives her title as *flaminica provinciae Tingitanae*, in which capacity she evidently served towards the end of the first century A.D.[2] The husband was a direct descendant of M. Valerius Severus, who with his wife was the first to hold the municipal priesthood at Volubilis under Claudius (*IAM* 448, 439–40: Vol. I, 2, Pls. LIX–LX). No doubt the prestigious link with the Valerii along with personal qualities secured the provincial office for Ocratiana. The second record takes the form of a funerary text commemorating Flavia Germanilla of Volubliis (no. 2), who had died at the age of 72 years and 6 months. Here again her title appears as *flaminica provinciae* and tenure in the late first century or later looks to be indicated by the name Flavia.[3] As in all probability she was the daughter of T. Flavius Germanus, who owned one of the finest homes in north-east Volubilis, Ocratiana will have belonged to an affluent local family.

No other point of interest is directly preserved but it is worth noting that the inscription to the wife of M. Valerius Sassius Pudens says nothing of her husband's status. As he was responsible for the text, his office would surely have been recorded had he served as provincial priest. It seems a fair inference, then, that Sassius Pudens had not attained this eminence.[4] Whether the same is true of Q. Cl(audius)

[1] Vol. I, 2, 288–9 with Pl. LVIIIb.; Ladjimi Sebaï (1990) 656–8, 681–2.

[2] Vol. I, 2, 289, n. 44 with ref.

[3] M. Euzennat, *ad* IAM 505, puts her tenure before the Severan period; cf. Ladjimi Sebaï, *o.c.* 656, n. 14 with ref.

[4] Alföldy (1973) 51, n. 117 follows Deininger (1965) 125, n. 8 in noting that in the inscription of the provincial *flaminica* Baebia Galla (*HAE* 808) the rank of her husband

Saturninus (*IAM* 464), the husband of Flavia Germanilla, is less clear, but neither is he recorded as provincial priest. The point bears directly on the question of whether the *flaminica* was the wife of the provincial high priest and would appear to support the view that, while this was regularly the case, it was by no means necessarily so: that is, the *flaminica* was not by definition the wife of the *flamen*.[5] Comparative evidence from Hither Spain in particular (above, p. 97) seems rather to indicate that, although a *flaminica* is as a rule the wife of the provincial *flamen*, in principle a woman could be *flaminica* in her own right without being married to a provincial priest.

Provincial priestesses were clearly drawn from leading families supportive of the imperial cause and tended the cult of deified females of the *domus imperatoria* as an inscription from Mulva in Baetica shows.[6] Like provincial priests, they were presumably elected by the provincial council to serve for one year at the provincial centre—whether at Volubilis or Tingi remains uncertain.[7] How far their privileges or the restrictions on their office corresponded to those of the *uxor flaminis* set out in the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 6–8) is unknown.

---

is not mentioned, although he is attested elsewhere as *flamen provinciae* (*CIL* 2, 4225 = *ILS* 2714); cf. Alföldy, *o.c.* 77, 94–5. But in *HAE* 808 the inscription was set up by a C. Terentius Philetus and the name of Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus is given in short simply to identify him as the husband of Baebia Galla: *Baebiae T. f. Gallae Silvani Graniani flaminicae p. H. C. C. Terentius Philetus domo Roma.*

[5] This looks confirmed by the regulations concerning the wife of the provincial priest set out in the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonnensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 6ff.). As noted in previous discussion (above, p. 7), these concern only the *uxor flaminis*, who at no point is cast in the role of provincial *flaminica.* Yet the office of *flaminica provinciae* certainly existed in Gallia Narbonensis; cf. Deininger (1965) 109; Gayraud (1981) 404, no. 10 (*CIL* 12, 2516); above, pp. 161, 176; *contra* Beard–North–Price (1998) 357. See further Ladjimi Sebaï (1990) 654–5, noting that, among municipal *flaminicae* in particular, some have husbands who are *flamines*, while the husbands of others have diverse functions. Very occasionally *flaminicae* seem not be married at all, though the office is found in other members of the immediate family.

[6] *AE*, 1966, 183; cf. Vol. I, 1, 166; Deininger (1965) 129.

[7] Vol. I, 2, p. 288, n. 42.

i. *Priestesses of Mauretania Tingitana*

1.]a Ocratiana Ocrati f.
Origin: Volubilis
Find-Spot: Volubilis
Title: *flaminica provinciae Tingita*[*nae*
Date: late first century
References: *ILM* 135; *IAM* 443

2. Fl(avia) T. fil. Germanilla
Origin: *Volub.*
Find-Spot: Volubilis
Title: *flaminic. prov.*
Date: late first/early second century
References: *ILAfr* 646; *IAM* 505

CHAPTER NINE

SARDINIA

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

Evidence for the provincial priesthood of Sardinia is restricted to the four local texts analysed in earlier discussion.[1] One of these, a limestone *cippus* or perhaps the base of a statue from Carales, gives no indication of who was responsible for an honorific dedication to Q. Gabinius Receptus, provincial *flamen Divorum et Augustorum* (no. 1). A second inscription, likewise a limestone *cippus*, was set up by the inhabitants of the *respublica* of Sulci to celebrate the past provincial priest L. Cornelius Marcellus *ex testamento ipsius* (no. 3). A third, orginally found in the ancient acropolis of Cornus and today housed at the University of Sassari, looks to be a statue base inscribed in honour of the former provincial *sacerdos* Crescens; partly indecipherable, the text apparently records that the monument was erected by the *ordo* of Cornus, presumably with the financial assistance of a local *collegium* (no. 3). The last record (no. 2), engraved on a damaged stone found at Bosa Vetus but known today only from the facsimile of an imperfect copy, is too mutilated to throw light on the honoree other than that his name was in the nominative case. Whether the stone recorded, say, a building inscription or, more likely, a dedication made by the unknown provincial priest to some divinity or an emperor is impossible to tell. The most obvious feature of this body of evidence is that no record has survived that originally belonged in the provincial centre or was set up by authority of the provincial council .

ii. *Origin, Social Background, Career*

Limited as it is, the surviving evidence on the priests of Sardinia preserves some useful information. With one text from the capital of Carales and only three other inscriptions from a scattering of localities,

[1] Vol. III, 1, 133–44. On nos. 1, 3, and 2 see recently Zucca (1994) 868 (no. 13), 887 (no. 74), 901 (no. 109).

evidence is insufficient to suggest any pattern of representation among tenants of the provincial priesthood. Nor is it possible to hazard conclusions on the social background of incumbents, though all must have been drawn as elsewhere from the municipal elite. In two instances (nos. 1, 3) the priest is enrolled in the tribe *Quirina*. If correctly restored, the final phrase of the Bosa text would reflect the obligatory wealth of the unknown *flamen* it celebrates. While we have no certain instance of a equestrian incumbent, an example occurs at Sulci (no. 3) of a type of *cursus* found in Hither Spain, a municipal career followed by adlection to the five decuries of judges. With this exception, however, the background of the individuals commemorated conforms to the path followed commonly in Tres Galliae, Hispania citerior and Proconsularis, an entirely municipal career crowned by the provincial priesthood.

Of interest in this connection is that there is no trace of the comprehensive formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus*; municipal offices are rather listed individually. Whereas Q. Gabinius Marcellus (no. 1) is recorded to have served as *quattuovir iur(e) dic(undo) quinq(ennalis)*, the equally distinguished career of L. Cornelius Marcellus (no. 3) included two terms as *quattuovir iur(e) dic(undo)* and was capped by the office of municipal *patronus*, just as in the case of two provincial priests from Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis. What is most of note otherwise is the emphasis on religious posts—both the local flaminate, which was served twice by L. Cornelius Marcellus at Sulci (no. 3; cf. no. 1?), and the office of *pontifex* for the performance of public rites (nos. 1, 3); Q. Gabinius Receptus (no. 1) evidently held this office subsequently to the provincial priesthood. By far the most striking feature of these local religious offices is, of course, the *sacerdotium* of Urbs Roma at Bosa (no. 2). Otherwise two of our four texts from Sardinia (nos. 2, 4) are of the greatest historical significance in recording that, subsequent to or on completion of the provincial priesthood, the incumbent was "adlected" into the senate of the provincial capital of Carales. If these appointments reflect the wording of provisions similar to those of the Lex Narbonensis, the priests in question will have additionally been members of their local *ordo* as well as of the provincial council.[2]

[2] While there is no information on L. Cornelius Marcellus (no. 3) in this regard, the case of Q. Gabinius Receptus (no. 1) is clearly different. As Carales was to all appearances his *patria*, he would have been enrolled in the town *ordo* by virtue of his position as past provincial priest, so could not additionally be enrolled in the *ordo* of Carales as were Crescens of Cornus and *Ignotus* of Bosa. Whether he might have been named *quinquennalis perpetuus* at Carales by way of compensation—retaining permanently the hon-

iii. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

Exiguous as it is, the record of provincial priests of Sardinia stretches from the early second century(?) through the Antonine period down to some point in the third. By sheer good fortune two key elements in the evolution of the cult are documented. In the first place the early formula of the provincial title, as attested in the inscription of Q. Gabinius Receptus, shows that the worship was addressed to the *Divi Augusti*. We have seen that in Hither Spain in particular *flamen Divorum Augustorum* (with which Roma is occasionally associated) is the equivalent to or a variant on both *flamen Augustorum* and *flamen Augustalis*.[3] There is nothing to suggest the presence of Roma in the provincial cult of Sardinia but here as elsewhere the cult must have been directed to the living emperor in association with deified, deceased rulers in all probability from the early Flavian period.[4] Secondly the Bosa text attests the switch in priestly title from *flamen* to *sacerdos*, presumably following the lead of the provincial cult of Proconsularis, though in neither province is there anything to suggest that this reflects any change in the content of the provincial cult. These two landmarks suggest that the cult was instituted under the Flavians and the priestly designation modified under Hadrian or later. The continued vitality of the worship down to the early third century or later plainly emerges from the key text at Cornus.

iv. *Priests of Sardinia*

1. Q. Gabinius A. *f.* Quir. Receptus
Origin: Carales
Find-Spot: Carales
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug.*
Municipal Career: *IIIIvir iur. dic. quinq.*, ⟨*flamen*⟩? *perpetuus, pontif. sa*[*crorum faciendorum publicorum*]
Date: early second century?
References: *CIL* 10, 7599; Sotgiu (1988) C25

---

orary title of *quinquennalis*—must remain very uncertain; the formula seems unparalled. The attractive suggestion of Zucca (1994) 868, no. 13, that his inscription is defective in omitting the word *flamen* before *perpetuus* would, if correct, put the discussion on a new basis. See Vol. III, 1, 133 with nn. 121–2.

[3] Vol. I, 2, 269–77; above, pp. 85–6.

[4] Vol. III, 1, 144.

2. Ignotus
Origin: Bosa?
Find-Spot: Bosa Vetus
Title: [*fla*]*m. prov. Sard.*
Municipal Career: *sac.*] *urb. Rom., adlectus ab splendidiss. ord. Ka*[*ralit.*
Date: Hadrian or later
References: *CIL* 10, 7940; Fishwick, Bosa (1999)

3. L. Cornelius Quir. Marcellus L. Corneli Lauri *pater*
Origin: Sulci
Find-Spot: Sulci
Title: *sacerdotalis prov. Sard.*
Municipal Career: *IIIIvir II iur. dic., flam. Aug. II, pontifex sacrorum publicor. faciendorum, patronus municipi d. d. cooptatus*
Imperial Career: *adlectus in quinque decurias*
Date: Hadrian or later
References: *CIL* 10, 7518

4. M. Cominius M. *fil.* Crescens
Origin: Cornus?
Find-Spot: Cornus
Title: *sacerd. prov. Sard.*
Municipal Career: *pontif.*(?), *adlectus ab splendidissimo ordin. Karalit.*
Imperial Career: *equo* (?) […]
Date: A.D. 211?, 259?, 289?
References: *CIL* 10, 7917

CHAPTER TEN

BAETICA

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

At least twenty-three priests of Baetica have left their traces, a figure surpassed only in Hither Spain and Tres Galliae and one far in excess of the current tally in, say, Narbonensis or Proconsularis.[1] To the priests can be added a single priestess, whose title is invaluable for the light it throws on the nature of her office. Outside Corduba these records originate from what looks to have been in most instances an incumbent's *patria*, where they divide into various categories.

A fragmentary *cursus* at Castulo is known only from a manuscript copy, presumably of an inscribed pedestal (no. 1), but two inscribed statue bases, in one case equestrian (no. 2: Mellaria), were set up by the local *ordo* or by the decurions *viritim*(?), though here the variant copies of a defective text virtually exclude coherent analysis (no. 15: Astigi). With this may be compared what is probably the inscribed pedestal of a statue that the priest's son erected at Acci in Hither Spain as provided by testament (no. 12); the text is notable for the absence of filiation and tribe on a family monument. Similarly at Ugultunia(?) the priest's daughter Varinia Flavina set up an honorific text, perhaps on a statue base, to C. Varinius Pietas, priest of Baetica, apparently in honour of his seventieth birthday as he is not stated to be deceased (no. 18). No details are recorded in one instance (no. 6: Canania) but monuments erected by *amici* include the base of what is perhaps a statue of Ceres Augusta put up in honour and memory of the priestess Quintia Flaccina at Munigua by her *amicus et herres* (sic), Q. Aemilius Vernaclus (no. 24). A place for the monument was granted by the *ordo* of the Flavian *splendidum municipium* and the ceremony took place after a banquet divided between both sexes. Similar memorials include an honorific inscription on a pedestal dedicated in an industrial quarter at Almuñécar by the Aemilii, Ligurius, Itali-

[1] For previous analysis see Étienne (1958) 126–30; Deininger (1965) 128–30; Castillo (1975) 610–14; *id.* (1998) 437–60.

Plate 61. Inscription of C. Aemilius Niger Annius Arvacus.

Plate 62. Inscription of Q. Cornelius [—].

cus and Delius, the freedmen of C. Aemilius Niger (no. 9; Pl. 61).[2] Conceivably these have thanked their patron, whom they call *amicus rarissimus*, for his extraordinary generosity in giving them responsibilities during his year's absence at Corduba as provincial priest. Again at Osset an altar of white marble was set up by a *libertus* to his *patronus optimus indulgentissimus* with the approval of the local *ordo*, which decreed a place for the monument (no. 16)

A entirely different category consists of public works financed by the provincial priest, whose name consequently appears in the nominative. Thus two *tituli* were set up by the priest himself, commemorating in one instance his construction and financing of an aqueduct at Igabrum (no. 3), in the other his generosity at Italica in donating no less than four statues, each of 100 lbs of silver, to the *genius* of the colony in celebration of his appointment as *duumvir* (no. 10); the phrase *in ordinem positae*

[2] For detailed analysis see Étienne (1999), noting the mercantile background of the "Mediterranean" names Ligurius, Italicus, Delius. I am indebted to the author for a photo-copy of his paper.

presumably means that the statues were arranged symmetrically in rows.[3] Again, an inscription found at Obulco records that Q. Cornelius [—] along with other members of his family donated a shrine along with a paved court or footway and marble statues, evidently at some locality away from the hill where the right-hand fragment of the text was found (no. 4: Pl. 62).[4]

By far the most striking feature of this body of evidence, however, is that a total of twelve high priests are presently attested at the provincial capital of Corduba. Their records take much the same form except that several were set up by the province as well as others by the colony of Corduba, by another city, by the priest himself, or by relatives. The location of these records is of central concern.[5] As a legacy of its early colonial history Corduba possessed two civic plazas: what is usually termed the "colonial forum" now identified in the centre of the modern city at the intersection of Calle Cruz Conde and Calle Góngora, and a secondary forum to the south in the region of Calles Jesús y María and Angel de Saavedra. Both of these zones have at one time or another been identified as the site of the provincial centre of Baetica, in each case on the basis of the location and distribution of priestly inscriptions. In favour of the south forum are four memorials to provincial priests, two set up by the provincial council (nos. 8, 20), two by the priest's son (nos. 17, 21; Pls. 67, 65). Against these must be balanced the evidence from the central forum, where four statues were dedicated to provincial priests, one by the provincial council (no. 11), two by the city of Corduba (nos.: equestrian, 19), and one by the *ordo* of Malaca (no. 14). Additional traces in this zone include the *mensula* of what looks to have been a statue of Colonia Patricia, set up by the priest himself (no. 13), also a statue which the province dedicated to the emperor Philippus Arabs; here the provincial *flamen* is attested in an eponymous capacity (no. 22). Two further inscriptions are of unknown provenance: a sepulchral *titulus* of a *flamen designatus* (no. 5), in other words an elected *flamen* who has not yet entered on office, and a second dedication by the province likewise dated by the term of a provincial priest (no. 23).

---

[3] Castillo (1998) 446 *ad* no. 5.

[4] Stylow *ad CIL* $2^2/7$, 133.

[5] See the insightful discussion of Stylow (1990) 272ff. with list of inscriptions from the two forums at 279–82. On the problem of the provincial centre of Baetica see Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 181–6; Vol. III, 3, 98–101.

ii. *Provincial Inscriptions*

Of particular interest are references to the statues which the council erected in honour of provincial priests. In contrast to the picture at Emerita, where similar texts are completely absent, three such records have survived at Corduba, one from the central forum (no. 11) and two from the south (nos. 8, 20). Baetica thus compares with Tres Galliae and Hispania citerior in being the third province to have produced documents of this kind. In two instances the surviving texts are inscribed on bases, the upper surfaces of which preserve one (no. 9) or two (no. 11) apertures for securing the feet of the image. The third text (no. 20) is now lost but took the form of a marble tablet that was found in the area of the provincial forum along with a second marble tablet, two bases for marble statues and part of a marble *protome*. No trace of a priest's statue itself survives, except perhaps in the last instance, but it presumably took the form of a life-size, togate figure of the type found at Tarraco and elsewhere (above, p. 83). At all events there is no trace at Corduba or indeed anywhere else in the Latin west of the group statue based on a stylobate that is distinctive of the federal centre at Lugdunum.

The main features of the records that document these statues have already been analyzed, so can be passed quickly under review.[6] All epigraphs give the honoree's name, filiation, tribe and origin (omitted in no. 20) followed by his priestly title, after which a slightly varying formula states that on completion of his term the council of the province of Baetica has agreed to grant him the greatest honours including a statue; the name of the province as dedicator is consequently omitted in final place. The texts belong to the period from the mid-second to the early third century but an inscription at Mellaria (no. 2), dated under Trajan, includes what is partly a summary extract from a similar formula, which must therefore have been in early use at Corduba, presumably from the foundation of the provincial cult. In contrast to the general practice at Lugdunum or Tarraco the *cursus* is excluded at Corduba and the formula includes a dating by consuls, though we have seen that it is debatable whether this refers to the completion of the priesthood or the decree of honours.[7] In any event there is a close correspondence with the relevant clause of the Lex Narbonensis regarding honours appropriate to a past *flamen*, a regulation clearly followed at

[6] Vol. III, 1, 119–26.
[7] Vol. III, 1, 123–4.

Corduba. A supplemental point in line with the same rubric is that the costs of the statue are born by the honoree (nos. 8, 11) or in one case by his father (no. 20). Presumably the phrase *honores quantos quisque maximos consecutus est* or variant covers other honours of a past *flamen* as set out in the Narbonese law (above, pp. 9–10).

A further idiosyncracy of the epigraphical record at Corduba is that, in addition to the inscribed bases of honorific statues set up to past priests by the provincial council, we have a series of late imperial dedications, which in two instances document provincial *flamonia*. An inscription on the pedestal of a statue to the emperor Philippus Arabs is dated by his first consulship and second grant of *tribunicia potestas* to the period from 1 January to 9 December A.D. 245, so both records the latest provincial priest of Baetica to be so far attested (no. 22) and also provides the latest explicit evidence we yet possess for the continued existence of the provincial *concilium*[8]:

> *[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari)|[M(arco) Iu]lio Philippo | Pio Felic(i) ⟨⟨inv(icto) Aug(usto)⟩⟩ | pontif(ici) max(imo)trib(unicia) | pot(estate) II co(n)suli p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli) | prov(incia) Baet(ica) ex decret(o) con|cili devot(a) numini maiestatiq(ue) | eius dedic(avit)| flamonio L(uci) Valeri Fuscini Cordubensis.*
>
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 255; Pl. 63)

Aside from the curiosity that the *invictus* title was a later correction, the text is of interest for the fact that the statue was dedicated by the province of Baetica in accordance with a decree of the loyal council during the priesthood of L. Valerius Fuscinus, whose origin is recorded as *Cordubensis* rather than *Patriciensis*, the form commonly given in the first and second centuries. Particularly striking is that the statue was set up on the colonial forum rather the so-called provincial forum to the south.[9]

---

[8] Stylow (1989) 399–405, especially 404 with n. 55. The base of the statue that the province dedicated a dozen or so years later to the empress Salonina (*CIL* 2^2/7, 258) omits to mention the *concilium*, which must nevertheless have been the authority responsible for the monument.

[9] The monument differs in this respect from what looks to have been a similar statue to his son, Philippus II, on the lower forum *ca.* A.D. 244–7. That this was set up about at the same time, whether by the provincial council or by the colony, appears a likely enough inference. The material and framing of the inscription on the base could point to the same workshop, though the lettering was by another hand; Stylow, *ad CIL* 2^2/7, 256, raises the possibility of another workshop. As lines 8ff., which would have mentioned the dedicator, are missing, the text must regrettably be exluded from discussion: *M(arco) Iul(io) Philip[po] | nobiliss(imo) C[aes(ari)] | filio | Imp(eratoris) Caesar[is] | M(arci) Iuli Phli[ppi] | [Pi]i Fel(icis) invic[ti] | [A]ugusti | — .* (*CIL* 2^2/7, 256; A.D. 244–7).

Plate 63. Inscription of L. Valerius Fuscinus.

Plate 64. Inscription of M. Valerius Saturninus.

Equally significant is a base that originated at some unknown location in Corduba. This must have been dedicated by the province *devota numini maiestatiq(ue) eor(um)* as the inscription ends with a dating according to the *flamonium* of M. Valerius Saturninus (no. 23), a citizen of Lacippo, so to all appearances a provincial priest:[10]

> — | [*provincia Baetica dev*]*o̩ta* | [*numini maiest*]*a̩tiq(ue) eor(um)* | *dedica*[*nt*]*e̩ M(arco) Aur(elio) Alexandro* | *p*[*roc(uratore) A*]*ugg. nn. v(iro) e(gregio) age̩nte vice* | *praesidi̩s* | [*flamo*]*n(io) M(arci) Val(erii) Saturnini Lacipponens(is).*
>
> (*CIL* 2^2/7, 259; Pl. 64)

A distinctive feature of this text is that the province of Baetica was joined in the dedication by M. Aurelius Alexander, *procurator Augg(usto-*

[10] The base was conceivably one of two companion pedestals, each of which supported a likeness of one of the two Augusti. This seems to follow from the formula *dev*]*o̩ta* [*numini maiest*]*a̩tiq(ue) eor(um)* in combination with the proportions of the base, which at (38)×(49)×(35) is smaller than any of the bases that supported a single statue of an imperial figure. Cf. *CIL* 2^2/7, 255: (145)×65.5/79,5×47.5/59 (Philippus Arabs); *CIL* 2^2/7, 258: (*ca.* 103)×*ca.* 45×*ca.* 45 (Cornelia Salonina); *CIL* 2^2/7, 256: (77)×54.5/(67)×37/(49.5) (Philippus II).

rum) nn(ostrorum), who was administering the province in place of the provincial governor at some time in the third century, very possibly under Valerian and Gallienus (A.D. 253–9).[11] The important point for immediate purposes is that in each of these two cases the dedication is dated by the *flamonium* of the provincial priest: in other words the provincial priest serves as an eponymous official for purposes of dating, a system found outside Baetica only at Sarmizegetusa (*IDR* 3/2, 79; see below, p. 259).

iii. *The Priestly Title*

The relatively large number of records that has survived provides a comprehensive list of priestly titles from the Flavian period down to the early third century, a chronological span that compares broadly with the picture in the neighbouring province of Hispania citerior. The full title, attested in several variants, was evidently *flamen Divorum Augustorum provinciae Baeticae* (cf. no. 14).[12] As this occurs, virtually *in extenso*, already under Trajan (no. 2), there can be no doubt that from its very beginning the cult was addressed to the Divi Augusti: that is, the living emperor along with deified, deceased emperors. In contrast to Hither Spain, however, the province of Baetica would appear never to have included Roma in the provincial worship. In this perspective the earliest title to have survived is exceptional in preserving the formula *flamen Augustalis in Baetica* (no. 1), which we have seen to be the earliest form of the priestly title in Lusitania just as at Rome (*CIL* 2, 41*). The same looks to be the case in Baetica,[13] though it should be noted that the *cursus* of the unknown priest was recorded at Castulo, that is to say in the *conventus Carthaginiensis* of Hispania citerior.[14] What is at all events certain is that

[11] For the date see Stylow *ad CIL* 2^2/7, 259, citing Pflaum, Reform (1976) 114ff. On the administration of Baetica and the technical term *praeses* see Alföldy (1995) 29–42, especially 41 with n. 27, noting the comparable office of the procurator Magnius Donatus. For similar ritual at Emerita, Sarmizegetusa and Troesmis see Vol. III, 1, 166–7; below, pp. 258–60, 288.

[12] The provincial qualification is lacking in no. 15 but reference to the *concilium* in line 5 of the text points strongly to a priesthood of the province. See Stylow's commentary *ad CIL* 2^2/5, 1171.

[13] So Castillo (1998) 439.

[14] It may be noted that a further trace from the same *conventus* of Hither Spain, in this case a second-century funerary text found at Acci, records the regular title *flamen Divor(um) Aug(ustorum) provinc(iae) Baet(icae)* (no. 12)—exactly when there is no way of telling; cf. Étienne (1958) 145.

in Baetica *flamen Augustalis* is simply a variant which in no way attests a different form of cult. This is self-evident from the fact that the Mellaria text—dated some time after January, A.D. 100 (see below, pp. 226–30), so only a few years later—already attests the cult of the Divi Augusti. It is worth repeating that the formula *flamen Augustalis* occurs not only in Lusitania in the Julio-Claudian period, at a time when the provincial cult focussed on Divus Augustus, but also in Hispania Citerior in an inscription from the period A.D. 110–40 (*RIT* 287), when the cult of that province was addressed to Roma and the Divi Augusti.[15] In other words *flamen Augustalis* is attested in all three Spanish provinces as the priestly title appropriate to three different versions of provincial worship. Evidently it served as a generic formula which of itself provides no indication of the precise form the worship took.

Two further features of the priestly title that call for comment are the forms *flamen designatus provin*[*c(iae)*] *Baet(icae)* (no. 5) and *flaminalis provinciae Baeticae* (nos. 10, 18, 21: Pls. 68, 65). The term *designatus* evidently applies to a priest who after election to office has not yet taken up his post, as a rule because he had died in the interval (see below, p. 228). The term is of particular interest in confirming an interval between election to office and assumption of duties.[16] *Flaminalis*, in contrast, plainly refers to a past priest just as in Proconsularis *sacerdotalis* is the technical term for a past *sacerdos*. With the qualification of C. Varinius Pietas as *pientiss(imus) vir flaminalis provinciae Baeticae* (no. 18)[17] may be compared the similar term preserved in the inscription of the archivist, C. Valerius Arabinus, whose statue was to be set up at Tarraco *inter flaminales viros* (*RIT* 333). But apart from this text *flaminalis* is not attested in Hither Spain—not, that is, unless it lurks behind the abbreviation *flam. p. H. c.*, a possibility which comparison with other texts makes remote. The honours to which a *flaminalis* was entitled both in the *curia* of his *patria* and in the provincial council, are set out explicitly in the *lex Narbonensis* (lines 13–15), a version of which was apparently operative in Baetica.[18]

Lastly, a single *flaminica* is recorded in a text at Munigua near Seville (no. 24), where Q. Aemilius Vernaclus set up a dedication to Ceres Augusta in honour and memory of Quintia Flaccina. Apart from vari-

[15] Vol. III, 1, 54.
[16] Castillo (1998) 440.
[17] C. Varinius Pietas is the individual previously known as C. Varinius Fidus (*EE* 8, 89). The change of *cognomen* results from the new reading given in *ERBC* 113.
[18] Vol. III, 1, 119–26.

Plate 65. Inscription of L. Octavius Licinianus.

ous donations attested by two fragmentary plaques of marble, no information on Quintia herself is preserved but the inscription is a key piece of evidence on the long debated office of provincial *flaminica*. Whereas the Lex Narbonensis speaks only of the *uxor flaminis* (line 6: above, p. 7) and the Lusitanian priests Albinus tended the cult of both Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta (above, p. 142), the Munigua text confirms that the *flaminica* of Baetica supervised the cult of deified females.[19] Presumably this implies a Flavian/Antonine date, if not later, since by this time deified females had multiplied to the point where the services of a priestess would be appropriate.[20]

iv. *The Priestly Year*

The Mellaria inscription (no. 2) is of unique significance for the light its central section throws on the priestly year. The key part is lines 5–7: ⟨*A(ulo*⟩ *Vic⌜i⌝rio⌜Martiali⌝ et L(ucio) Ma⌜e⌝cio Postumo co(n)s(ulibu)s* | *hic provinciae Baeticae consensu flamini⌜s⌝* | *munus est consequutus* … . On Étienne's view A. Vicirius Martialis and L. Maecius Postumus, the suffect consuls of July—August, A.D. 98,[21] will have dated the honorific inscription on the pedestal of Sempronius' statue at Corduba, so have given "l'entrée en charge" of Sempronius as provincial *flamen*. "C'est donc que l'élection des prêtres comme la fin de leur charge se place en juillet, soit en août". Étienne consequently takes the priestly year to have run from July to June and infers that Sempronius served A.D. 98/99.[22] On the view of Stylow, in contrast, it is uncertain whether the consular dating was taken over from the Corduba text or is of local inspiration. In any event the latter part of the central section resumes the formula employed in honorific inscriptions at Corduba to indicate the close of a priest's term: *consummato honore flamonii*. As a result, he infers a connection between the consular dating and the decree of honours *peracto honore* and takes Sempronius to have *completed*

[19] *Contra* Friesen (1993) 83–4.

[20] Aside from Livia, early *Divae*—Drusilla (sister of Gaius), Claudia (daughter of Nero and Poppaea), Poppaea herself—seem not to have taken root in provincial cult. In Lusitania the office of *flaminica* is attested apparently from the Flavian period (above, p. 147). Castillo (1998) 440 dates Quintia Flaccina to the late second/early third century.

[21] Degrassi (1952) 29; Vidman (1982) 45, 93; *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 853, Vicirius 3 (Eck).

[22] *Id.* (1958) 128.

his mandate in July/August, A.D. 98. By this reckoning Sempronius will have served A.D. 97/98.[23]

Discussion can conveniently begin by noting that the wording *flaminis munus est consequutus* must surely indicate the date when Sempronius attained the provincial priesthood. This is the normal meaning of the verb *consequi*,[24] which is used in precisely this sense at Corduba to record that a priest has gained the highest honours including a statue: *honores quantos quisque maximos plurimosque flamen est consecutus cum statua* or variant (nos. 8, 11, 20). Whether the reference is to his election, to his entry to office, or to both, depends on when the priestly year began and ended. In any event a year that supposedly ran from July/August to June/July looks excluded by two external testimonia.

The first is the inscription of C. Antonius Seranus (no. 8). Whether the consular dating is to be taken with *consummato honore flamoni* or *decreti sunt honores* is unclear.[25] On the former interpretation the priesthood will have come to an end under the suffect consuls P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus and M. Servilius Silanus, who presumably served for the entire three months from October to December, A.D. 152, as the year has four pairs of consuls of which they are the last.[26] It follows that, whether the priestly year ended in October, November or December, it must have closed later than July/August. On the latter view the council will have decreed honours to Gaius Antonius Seranus a month at the very least after the close of his term if the priestly year ended in July/August, surely an unlikely eventuality. In any case this possibility

[23] *Id.* (1987) 101–3 with n. 118: "… Das nicht das Jahr des Amtstantritts, sondern das des Ausscheidens aus dem Amt und damit der Ehrung durch den Landtag das entscheidende Datum darstellte, belegen mit aller Klarheit die Inschriften der baetischen Provinzflamines des 2. und 3. Jhs. … , in denen die Datierung stets auf die Standardformel huic consummato honore flamoni folgt und mit ihr sprachlich engstens verbunden erscheint. Dieser Zusammenhang zwischen der Datierung und dem Ehrenbeschluss peracto honore besteht auch in der Inschrift von Mellaria, zugegebenermassem weniger eng als in den späteren Formularen: die Praxis der Ehrung der Provinzflamines nach Ende ihres flamonium dürfte somit bereits seit der Einrichtung des baetischen Provinzialkults bestanden haben. Das Amtsjahr des Speratus war daher 97/98 und nicht 98/99".

[24] For *consequi* in the sense of 'gained', 'achieved', 'reached' see *ThLL* 3 s.v. B3, 407–9; *OLD* 413 s.v., 8–9. Both entries cite in particular Cic., *Pro Mur.* 24: *consulatum consecuti sunt.*

[25] For discusion of the point see Vol. III, 1, 123–4.

[26] Degrassi (1952) 43, registering only the name of M. Servilius Silanus; cf. Vidman (1982) 51, 131; Eck in *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 105, no. 10c. For earlier discussion see García y Bellido (1971).

looks excluded by a second text that has been overlooked in all previous discussion of the priestly year. A late first/early second-century dedication at Corduba records that C. Cosanus Rusticus was *flamen designatus provin(ciae) Baet(icae)* (no. 5): evidently he died before taking office as his inscription belongs amongst a group of *tituli sepulcrales*.[27] Quite clearly, then, the term *designatus* implies an interval—whether of weeks or months—between election and entry on office. It follows from the combination of these testimonia that *consequutus est* in the Mellaria inscription in all probability indicates the date when Sempronius Speratus was elected. His accession to office on the other hand must have taken place at some later juncture if he either completed his year's term in October to December or a period intervened when a *flamen* elected for the coming year was officially termed *designatus*. When that juncture occurred remains to be determined.

The difficulty one faces here is sheer lack of usable evidence. Like record no. 8 (A.D. 152), the inscriptions of L. Cominius Iulianus (no. 11) and [. Fab. …]dus (no. 20) both contain a consular dating, yet neither throws light on the close of the priestly year as the consuls recorded are the *ordinarii* of A.D. 191 and A.D. 216 respectively.[28] In a fundamental article W. Eck has demonstrated that the system of dating by *suffecti* proved eventually unworkable by reason of the ever-increasing number of supplementary consuls.[29] In A.D. 190, for example, the year immediately before no. 11 was drafted, Commodus named no less than twenty-five consuls (*SHA*, *Comm.* 6, 9). As a result, it became the practice, introduced at different times in different areas of public and private life, to date an event by the *ordinarii* who began the year rather than by the pair of *suffecti* who chanced to be in office for the particular weeks during which the occurrence happened. This is plainly the case in nos. 11 and 20, where mention of the *ordinarii* means simply "at some

---

[27] Cf. L. Aufidius Celer(?) Masculinus, *flamen designatus p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)*, to whom by decree of the decurions his *respublica* set up a statue at the provincial centre at Tarraco (*RIT* 259); the term *designatus* presumably indicates that he too had died before taking office. Similarly [C? I]ulius Fidus, *flamen des(ignatus) pro(vinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)*, received an honorific dedication at Asturica before he entered on office at Tarraco (*CIL* 2, 5124). The honorific dedication was set up in his *patria* to both Fidus and his wife Iulia, who conceivably would have been provincial *flaminica* had he eventually taken office. Presumably Fidus died when still *designatus* though this is not clear from his inscription. For earlier discussion see above, p. 101 with n. 77.

[28] Degrassi (1952) 53, 60.

[29] *Id.* (1991) 18ff. I am much indebted for discussion to G. Di Vita-Evrard, who kindly alerted me to Eck's paper.

point in the year begun by x and y". It follows that neither of these texts is serviceable for present purposes. Whether the priestly year ended in October, November or December of A.D. 191 or 216 the priest's term would have been dated by the same pair of *ordinarii*. Equally, if the consular dating goes with the decree of the council, this could have been passed in any month of the year begun by the *ordinarii* in question.

A final decision on the parameters of the priestly year must wait upon the appearance of some future epigraphical text that records a pair of more closely datable *suffecti*. In the meantime one can only argue on the basis of the three months span, October to December, as attested by the inscription of C. Antonius Seranus (no. 6). In favour of October is that a terminal or initial date at some point in this month would be consistent with a protracted annual meeting that lasted from, say, late August to early October. Conceivably a priest could have been elected early in the proceedings and taken office at their close, having been *designatus* in the interval. Against this is the relatively short, though not impossibly short, period in which a *flamen designatus* could have died. More importantly, why should a priestly year begin or end in October at all? There seems to be no obvious chronological landmark one can point to unless a date in October coincided with the (unknown) anniversary of the foundation of the provincial cult.

The likelier alternative is surely that the priestly year ran from January 1 to December 31.[30] This would accord with the Roman year just as election in the previous July/August would correspond with the election of Roman officials (under both the Republic and the early Empire) several months before they entered office.[31] A four or five months interval before taking office would certainly be in keeping with the term *designatus*. More to the point, a calendar year is known to have been operative in the provincial cult of Lycia, where the election of officers for the coming year took place at the annual meeting in autumn.[32] As it is inconceivable that the annual meeting of the council lasted until

[30] Cf. the official year of municipal *duoviri*, which in Baetica at least corresponded to the calendar year: Stylow (1989) 404 with n. 57. See now R. Atencia Páez *ad CIL* $2^2/5$, 789, lines 14–15; further below, n. 37.

[31] *DE* 2, 689–90 s.v. *consul* (Vaglieri). See further Curchin (1990) 28, observing that the colonial charter of Urso (*ILS* 6087 = *FIRA* 1, 21) shows (63) that a magistrate's term of office coincided with the calendar year, from which it follows that elections must have been held at some point in the previous year.

[32] Deininger (1965) 150 with n. 5, cf. 72–3, noting that provincial ruler cult in this province may date from the reign of Vespasian just as in various provinces of the Latin west.

December, however, one would in that case have to suppose a supplementary meeting, when the *legati* voted on whether the retiring priest should be given honours including a statue (above, pp. 219–20).[33] There seems to be no evidence to confirm such an additional meeting—even the annual meeting of a province is of uncertain date except in Tres Galliae[34]—but some details of the activities of the council of Baetica are known, notably the processes it launched against the proconsuls Baebius Massa and Caecilius Classicus.[35] Each of these may well have required one or more special meetings of the council. Whatever the facts in this regard, we have a extensive list of events that entailed a decision on the part of the council of Tres Galliae, taken in some instances at least at times other than the regular annual assembly.[36] At the very least, then, there is precedent in Baetica as in Tres Galliae for meetings of the *concilium* held outside its annual convention. Further than that one can hardly go at present. Final resolution of the question must await upon new evidence that places the discussion upon a fresh basis.

It remains to repeat that the series of inscribed pedestals supporting imperial figures reveals a feature of the provincial priesthood of Baetica for which the only parallel elsewhere in the Latin west occurs in Dacia (below, p. 259). In at least two instances (nos. 22, 23: Pls. 63, 64) the dedication by the province is recorded according to the term of the current provincial priest; as the first of these is dated by the emperor's

[33] Presumably this additional meeting would in that case have taken place in January, when the new flamen had entered on office. According to the relevant clause of the Lex Narbonensis, the new priest is to put the question of whether the ex-priest shall have the honour of a statue: [*Si is qui flamen fue*]*rit adversus hanc legem nihil fecerit, tum is qui flamen erit c*[*urato ut* …27… | .3. *per tabell*]*as iurati decernant placeatne ei qui flamonio abierit permitti s*ṭą[*uam intra fines templi … ponere*. (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964, lines 10–11). If the priestly year did in fact coincide with the calendar year, this would swing the balance decisively in favour of taking the consular dating October-December in *CIL* 2^2/7, 291 (no. 6) with *consummato honore flamonii*, given that the decree of the council plainly took place following the close of the priest's term.

[34] For the annual meeting of the council of Tres Galliae in connection with the festival of August 1 see Vol. I, 1, 118; II, 1, 578 with n. 632. The yearly synod of the Macedonian and Asiatic *koina* looks to have taken place in October and autumn respectively: Deininger (1965) 145.

[35] Deininger (1965) 129–30; Rodríguez, Procesos (1978); Guichard (1989).

[36] For the list see Wuilleumier (1953) 39. A case in point is that on the death of Agrippina in A.D. 59 the council dispatched the orator Iulius Africanus, who wished Nero the courage to support his good fortune (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 8, 5, 15). As Agrippina was murdered at Baiae in March, this decision can hardly have waited upon the next annual meeting held the following August.

consulship and second grant of *tribunicia potestas*, the priest's term can be firmly assigned to A.D. 245. Whereas in Proconsularis priesthoods are calculated according to the year of an era dating from A.D. 70–2, here in Baetica the priest himself appears in an eponymous capacity in much the same way as archons at Athens or *consules ordinarii* at Rome. Presumably this development was inspired by the practice, common in local communities, of dating according to the term of the municipal *duoviri*,[37] whose official year running from January 1 to December 31 looks to be echoed in the corresponding calendar year of provincial priests. The texts attesting the usage belong to the mid-third century but the practice itself may well be earlier in origin. As Stylow has pointed out, more than two centuries intervened between these and earlier imperial records, a gap to be explained by the circumstance that statue pedestals of the first and second centuries were re-used in the third and fourth in much the same way as the statues themselves were re-worked or given new heads.[38]

v. *Origin and Social Background*

The list of priests makes it clear that the provincial *flamonium* was served by representatives from each of the four *conventus* of Baetica—in Pliny's order: *Gaditanus*, *Cordubensis*, *Astigitanus*, *Hispalensis* (*NH* 3, 3, 7).[39] The overwhelming majority of these incumbents, no less than nine out of twenty-three, originate from the *conventus Cordubensis* with perhaps six from Corduba itself.[40] As this can hardly be ascribed to the chance survival of evidence, it would appear that in contrast to the picture in Hispania citerior relatively few of the known priests of Baetica hailed from centres along the coast, certainly none of the earlier appointees. Instead it was the rich hinterland of the province, notably the valley of the Baetis and its environs, that furnished the bulk of incumbents. As in Hither Spain or Lusitania, the legal status of a priest's *patria* seems

[37] *CIL* 2, p. 1114, listing numerous examples of dating by the year of local *duoviri*; cf. Stylow (1989) 404 with n. 57.

[38] Stylow (1989) 404, noting that the sunken level of an epigraphical field shows that the original inscription has been erased and the surface re-inscribed.

[39] Gaditanus: nos. 9, 14, 23; Cordubensis: nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 17, 19, 22; Astigitanus: nos. 3, 11, 15; Hispalensis: nos. 8, 10, 16, 18, 20, 21. The single priestess (no. 24) was likewise from Hispalensis. For a helpful map see Alföldy (2000) 16, Abb. 2.

[40] Nos. 17, 19, 22 are explicitly recorded to have originated from Corduba. The careers of nos. 7 and 13 strongly suggest the same origin, while no. 5 looks to have lived at Corduba, where he died and is commemorated with his two brothers(?).

to have played no apparent role in his election, though all centres that produced a provincial priest were juridically privileged. Residence at Corduba, the provincial capital, was evidently an advantage, no doubt for the possibilities it offered of contact with the Roman administration. It might be noted in this regard that L. Licinius Montanus Serapio (no. 14), who originated from Malaca, was adopted into the colony of Cordoba, a step that must have improved his prospects of advancement and doubtless was a factor in his election to the provincial priesthood. We have seen comparable examples in Hispania citerior of *adlectio* to the capital of a *conventus* before elevation to the provincial priesthood (above, p. 88). Equally, there is no sign of the gradual cheapening of the provincial priesthood notable in Hither Spain, where later priests were drawn more and more from centres remote from the provincial capital of Tarraco.

Two priests are nevertheless remarkable in that they are attested not in Baetica itself but at Castulo and Acci in the *conventus Carthaginiensis* of Hispania citerior (nos. 1, 12); as a rule incumbents were drawn from the province in which they served. Whether the individuals in question originated from Hither Spain or had simply moved there at some stage after their priesthood of Baetica can hardly be affirmed categorically; the former looks by far the likelier possibility.[41] Both Castulo and Acci lie close to the provincial boundary and had in fact belonged to Hispania Ulterior before the boundaries changed at the creation of the new province of Baetica. Various traces reveal that close conections, at least at the personal or family level, continued between the border towns and the new province, and each of the two priests must certainly have had ties with the internal affairs of the province of Baetica.[42] Otherwise Baetica compares with Lusitania in that data are insufficient for a closer analysis of the origins of provincial priests.

Nor can one infer more than a general outline of their social background and family connections.[43] Where the tribe is given, four priests belonged to the Sergia whereas perhaps nine were enrolled in the

[41] Vol. I, 2, 226, n. 31.

[42] Castillo (1975) 604–6, noting connections between different towns of Baetica and Castulo; *id.* (1998) 439.

[43] For possible relationships based on onomastic similarities see Castillo (1998) 441 and 443ff.

Galeria.[44] No doubt priests were drawn from the leading families of their *patria*, as elsewhere in the Spains, and constituted a local elite below those of senatorial or higher equestrian rank. A good example is C. Sempronius Speratus (no. 2) who came from the small town of Mellaria, some eighty kilometres north-west of Corduba, and attained the provincial flaminate perhaps early under Trajan, little more than a quarter of a century after the cult had been founded. This fact alone is sufficient to explain the posthumous honours and statues (including two equestrian) accorded by a local council that was no doubt dominated by the Sempronii and their clique and not averse to the glorification of a rich local worthy who had made a name for himself—and his *patria*—at the provincial level.[45] For this achievement he could no doubt thank his family connections, above all his private fortune as attested by the financial resources of his wife Venusta.[46] C. Aemilius Niger (no. 9), a notable citizen of Sexi, was a Romanized native as his *cognomen* Annius Arvacus shows, and had evidently made his money out of salt and fish.[47] The wealth of other priests is clear from their link with families engaged in the oil trade, notably Q. Cornelius [—] (no. 4), M. Cassius Caecili[anus] (no. 10), C. A[nnius] C[andidus] (no. 16), perhaps also [. Fab. …]dus (no. 20).[48] L. Iunius Paulinus (no. 13, Pl. 66) was so rich that he gave a gladiatorial show with two *lusiones* (preliminary elimination bouts of gladiators) *ob honorem flaminatus* and set up the statues he had promised to the value of HS 400,000 *ob honores coniunctos*, marking their dedication with circus games.[49]

---

[44] Sergia: nos. 10, 13, 17, 19; Galeria: nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, ?20, 21. At Corduba priests with attested tribes are distributed almost equally between members of the Sergia, the tribe of citizens of the original Latin colony (nos. 13, 17, 19), and those of the Galeria, in which new-comers were evidently enrolled following the Augustan deduction of veterans (nos. 5, 7). On the tribes Galeria and Sergia in Spain see Castillo (1998) 440, n. 13 with basic bibliography.

[45] Stylow kindly suggests in correspondence that the equestrian statues at Mellaria may indicate Sempronius was expected to enter an equestrian career (a rare achievement of past provincial priests) or at least deemed worthy of one—had he lived.

[46] Stylow (1987) 101, noting that as a leading member of the gens Sempronia he will have belonged to the local elite. For the importance of family connections in furthering the careers of provincial priests in Hither Spain see Alföldy (1973) 25–7. Similar considerations will doubtless have applied in Baetica.

[47] Étienne (1999) 144–5.

[48] For details see the commentary of Castillo (1998) 443ff. *ad* nos. 10, 5, 3, 12.

[49] Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 54 with n. 136 and refs., noting that the sum equals the HS 400,000 required for equestrian status and could cover the cost of more than a hundred statues worth HS 2,400–6,000. For *lusiones* see A. U. Stylow *ad CIL* $2^2/7$, 221, citing Granino Cerere (1987) 205–8.

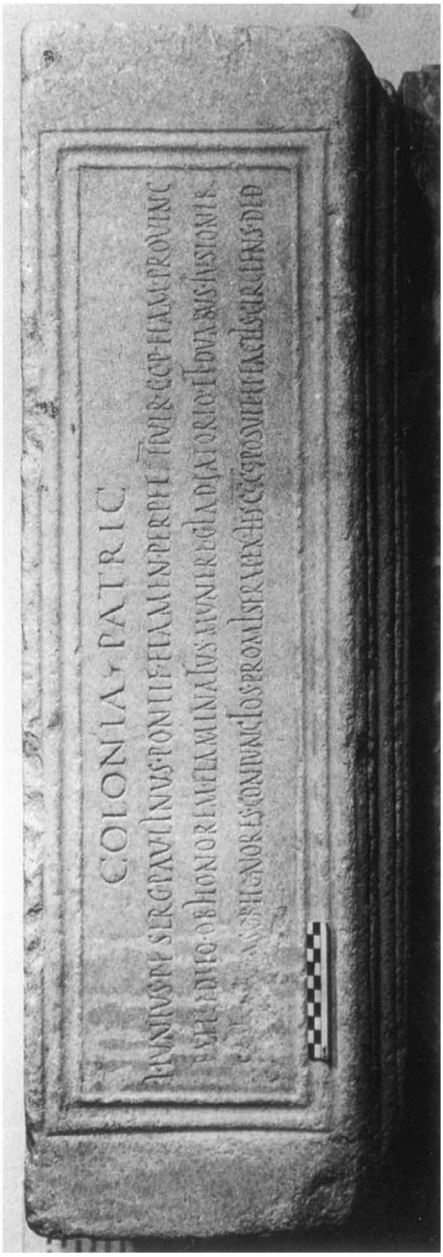


Plate 66. Inscription of L. Iunius Paulinus.

In many cases the names of provincial priests are obscure but at least a few have a familiar ring.[50] M. Cornelius Nova[t?]us Baebius Balbus (no. 3), the knight who built the Aqua Augusta that supplied Igabrum, could be related to the illustrious Baebii of Gades, a branch of the Cornelii, who on receiving citizenship may have taken their name from a member of the Cornelii Lentuli. Q. Cornelius [—] (no. 4) looks to be a descendant of the polyonomous suffect consul of A.D. 146, L. Stertinius Quintilianus Acilius Strabo Q. Cornelius Rusticus Apronius Senecio Proculus,[51] while [.] Iulius Gallus Mummianus (no. 7), an equestrian of Corduba, belonged to the Iulii, of whom the largest concentration is at Tucci; the name of his wife Aelia Flaviana (*CIL* 2, 2224) connects her with the *gens Aelia*, the family of Hadrian. M. Cassius Caecili[anus] (no. 10) must belong to the family of M. Cassius Agrippa, procurator of Baetica, and may be related to the suffect consul of A.D. 130, Cassius Agrippa.[52] L. Iunius Paulinus of Corduba (no. 13), was a member of the Iunii, who produced several governors of Hispania Ulterior and included Seneca's friend, the senator Iunius Gallio, perhaps likewise from Corduba. The Licinii, many of whom have the *praenomen* L(ucius), likewise contributed their share of provincial governors and are particularly in evidence at Italica. Though various members of the *gens* are attested in the region of Málaga, the name of L. Licinius Montanus Serapio (no. 14) is unique in Spanish epigraphy.[53] The common *cognomen* Montanus indicates in principle a geographical origin, whereas the second *cognomen* Sarapio, evidently derived from the Graeco-Egyptian name Serapis, appears once at Mellaria and occasionally among the ruling classes at Rome. [C]lodius [Sat]urninus (no. 17: Pl. 67) of Corduba is probably descended from the rich orator Clodius Turrinus, the friend and contemporary of Seneca *pater*,[54] whereas M. Helvius Rufus (no. 19) belonged to the distinguished family of the Helvii attested at Hispalis and elsewhere in Baetica. Seneca's mother was a Helvia, as was the aunt who brought him up in childhood and was married to C. Galerius, prefect of Egypt.[55] Whether [. Fab. …]dus (no. 20) can

[50] For the social background of some of the provincial priests of Baetica see Etienne (1958) 129–30; Castillo (1975) 631–50 s.v. Cornelii, Iulii, Iunii, Licinii, Helvii, Fabii, Valerii; *id.* (1998) 443–57.

[51] Castillo (1998) 448, no. 10 with refs.

[52] Castillo (1998) 446, no. 5 with n. 46.

[53] Aparicio-Ventura (1996) 255–6.

[54] Castillo (1998) 447, no. 6 with n. 52, citing Stylow *ad HEp* 4, 283.

[55] *PIR*^{2} 4, p. 6. no. 25.

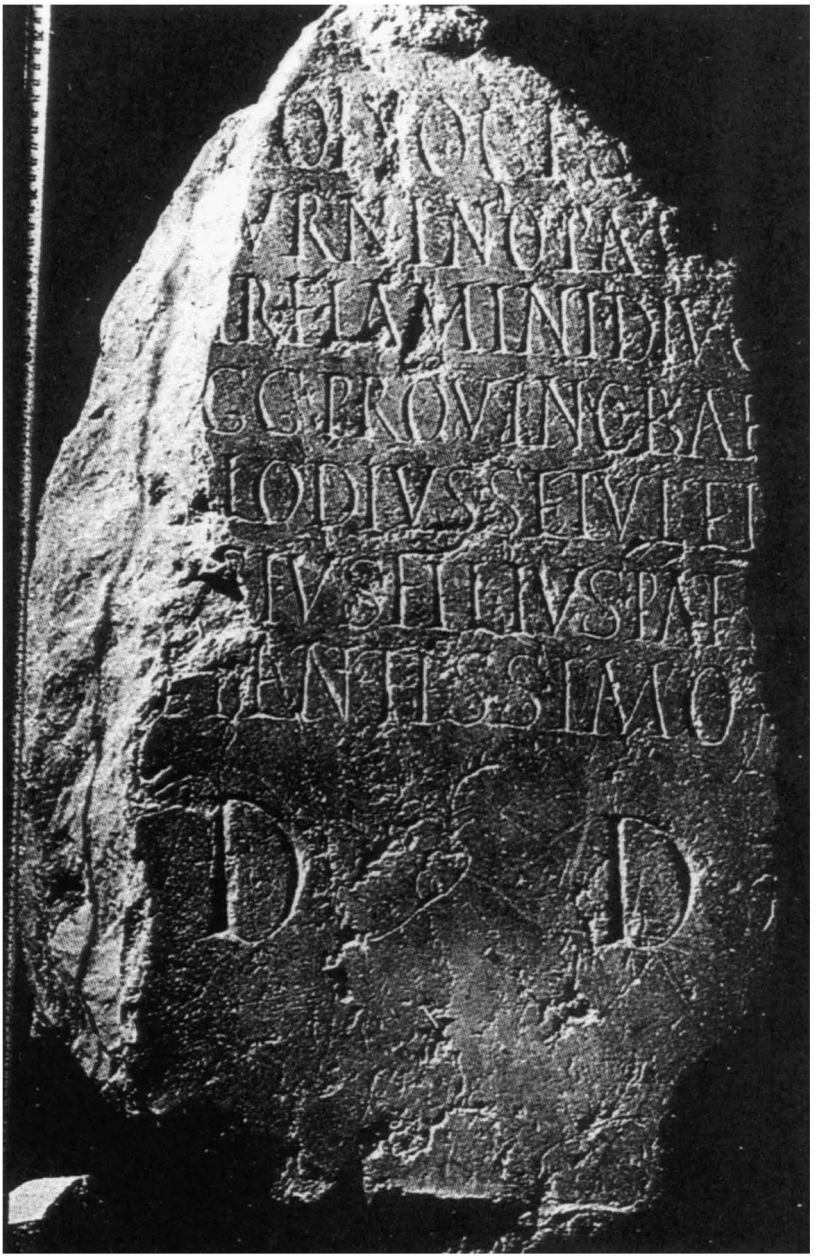


Plate 67. Inscription of Clodius Saturninus.

be attributed to the notable family of the Fabii, many of whom held office in Baetica, must remain uncertain, but L. Valerius Fuscinus and M. Valerius Saturninus (nos. 22, 23) were plainly Valerii, a leading family of Baetica attested particularly at Iliberris but also widely elsewhere, including Corduba. If the name of C. A[nnius] C[andidus] (no. 16) is correctly restored, he too was a member of a well-connected, leading family.

No doubt the remaining *flamines* likewise came from families of repute that had held at least local office; if so, they too could have counted on ties of kinship in support of their candidatures for the high priesthood. On the other hand Alföldy's judgement that in Hispania citerior it was rather the descendants of provincial priests who had prospects of further social advancement looks strikingly confirmed in Baetica by the case of Varinia Flaccina, who commemorated her father C. Varinius Pietas, deceased at the age of seventy (no. 18). The daughter herself married the senator Licinius Serenianus, known from an inscription found near Zafra, where he has the title of *clarissimus vir* (*CIL* 2, 1024).[56]

vi. *Career*

Three priests held equestrian posts before assuming the provincial priesthood.[57] The most significant of these is the *ignotus* at Castulo (no. 1), who served as *praefectus*(?) *fisci* and simultaneously (*et*) *curator* of Titus in Baetica, prefect of Gallecia in north-east Spain, and *prefectus fisci* of Germany before its division into Upper and Lower Germany *ca.* A.D. 83. As he served in this capacity under the joint rulers Vespasian and Titus, the latest possible date for this post is A.D. 79, after which followed the military tribunate of the Eighth Legion. Everything suggests, then, that his provincial priesthood belongs to the earlier years of Domitian's reign.[58] With this career can be compared the equestrian offices of M. Cornelius Nova[t]us Baebius Balbus (no. 3), who served as *praefectus fabrum*, then military tribune of the Legio VI Vixtrix; if its titles Pia Felix date from the reign of Trajan, the priesthood must

[56] On the identity of Licinius Serenianus see *PIR*^{2} 5, 1, p. 58, no. 245.

[57] See now the discussion of Castillo (1998) 441, assuming equestrian status also in the cases of nos. 2, 10, 17.

[58] Vol. I, 2, 221–39; Vol. III, 1, 114–19.

belong to the early second century.[59] What is striking here is that these two examples of an equestrian career belong to the initial decades of the provincial cult, exactly as in Hither Spain, and that they are followed in the early part of the second century by a single example of a mixed career—municipal and equestrian—again on the pattern of Hither Spain. Iulius Gallus Mummianus (no. 7) served as provincial *flamen* following the municipal duumvirate at Corduba, which was preceded by the military tribunate of the *cohors maritima*, a detachment that evidently secured the coast of Baetica, particularly the straits.

No examples occur in Baetica of a priest who served on the five jury panels or at least had his name placed on the list; this type of career is best represented in Hither Spain. But while most remaining records are silent on the priest's earlier career, there are seven which list one or more prior municipal offices, in particular those of *duumvir* (nos. 7, 13, 17, ?18), *flamen perpetuus* (nos. 10, 13) and *pontifex* (no. 13)—in two instances *pontifex perpetuus* (nos. 15, 16). One feature of the priestly career worth special mention is that L. Licinius Montanus Sarapio (no. 14) was honoured by a statue set up on the colonial forum of Corduba by the *ordo* of Malaca. His honorific text states that he was *origine Malactinus, adlectus Corduben(sis)* and the *ordo* of his original *patria* has been careful to give him the tribe of Corduba.[60] Evidently his adoption into the community of Colonia Patricia, the capital of the province, was as much a matter of pride to his native Malaca as his office of provincial *flamen*. One might compare the case of M. Valerius Capellianus, provincial priest of Hither Spain, who is recorded as Damanitanus, *adlectus in coloniam Caesaraugustanam ex beneficio Divi Hadriani* (*RIT* 309). In his case the tribes of both his *patria* Damanium (Galeria) and his adoptive city Caesaraugustum (Aniensis) are listed and he is stated to have discharged all honours in each *respublica*.

That any particular experience was a prerequisite for candidacy to the provincial priesthood seems unlikely, though several incumbents had held a municipal priesthood (above). Nor is it clear that the provincial priesthood was necessarily held at a set point in a *cursus*. In general provincial office looks to have been the culmination of a career after service in equestrian posts or higher local magistracies, but this is clearly not the case with Cassius Caecilianus (no. 10: Pl. 68), who was *flaminalis provin*[*ciae*] Baeticae at the time he set up four silver stat-

[59] Etienne (1958) 129.
[60] Aparicio-Ventura (1996) 256.

ues to the *genius* of the colony of Italica *ob honorem IIvir(atus)*. In this instance the provincial priesthood looks to have intervened between two local offices at Italica, the perpetual flaminate of Divus Traianus and the municipal duumvirate.[61] A similar point concerns the last preserved word in the fragmentary text at Castulo (no. 1). If this is to be taken with some following honour such as *patrono*, the text would provide a further indication of the possibility of holding offices after the provincial flaminate.[62]

vii. *The Priestly Office*

One last point that calls for special mention concerns the honours accorded C. Sempronius Speratus (no. 2) by the *ordo* of Mellaria. Exceptional honours presuppose exceptional service. What this might have been was proposed thirty-five years ago by J. Deininger, who pointed to the successful process brought by the provincial council against the *proconsul* Caecilius Classicus, proceedings in which the provincial *flamen*, chairman of the concilium of Baetica, must have played a leading role.[63] Deininger put this whole affair under A.D. 98 with the result that his proposal was rejected by Stylow, who notes that on the view of G. Alföldy, the process will have taken place in A.D. 99.[64] According to the arguments developed above, however, the year in which Sempronius Speratus served his term as provincial priest was neither 97/98 nor 98/99 but the calendar year 99. In that case his mandate would have coincided exactly with the council's prosecution of the odious Caecilius Classicus, its preliminary stages having begun no doubt in 98, when Sempronius was *flamen designatus*.[65] Deininger's proposal looks justified therefore. Equally, Mommsen's suggested emendation *et* ⌜*l*⌝⌜*e*⌝⌜*g*⌝*a*⌜*t*⌝*i* (line 8), approved by Hübner, gains new credibility despite the awkward Latin of the sentence *peracto honore flaminic(o) et legati omn(is) consensus*

[61] See the commentary of A. M. Canto *ad ERI* 22bis, p. 168.

[62] For provincial priests who served as patrons of the province see Vol. I, 2, 229, n. 39. For patrons of a *municipium* in Baetica see Rodríguez (1981) 151–69.

[63] Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 9, 1ff.: … *in Classicum tota provincia incubuit. Ille accusationem vel fortuita vel voluntaria morte praevertit*; cf. 3, 4, 2ff.; 6, 29, 8. For discussion see Deininger (1964) 178–9 with n. 71, arguing that by *tota provincia* must be meant the representatives of the *concilium* who had been sent to Rome.

[64] Stylow (1987) 103, n. 120a; Alföldy (1969) 162 with n. 72.

[65] Cf. Vol. I, 2, 219, where the priesthood of Sempronius is assigned to A.D. 98, a year too early as it would now appear.

Plate 68. Inscription of M. Cassius Caecilianus.

statuam decrevit.[66] For as provincial *flamen* Sempronius would in all probability have undertaken a legation to Rome to represent the province in the process against Cecilius Classicus; the circumstance that he served as legate at the time he was provincial priest explains the singular *honore* rather than *honoribus*. How precisely Sempronius was honoured by the provincial council at the end of his term is uncertain as his inscribed pedestal has yet to be recovered but, if the Mellaria text incorporates an accurate resumé of the formula at Corduba, the statue he received will have been pedestrian rather than equestrian—this despite the exceptional contribution of Sempronius to the outcome of the process (anticipated by the death of Classicus). In his *patria* in contrast the local council posthumously accorded him two equestrian statues (above, p. 227). Here, then, at Mellaria we appear to have direct evidence on the activities of a provincial priest of Baetica during his year's term.

[66] In kindly alerting me to Mommsen's ingenious conjecture, Stylow notes that *et legati* would make an almost perfect fit palaeographically; as *ei* is implicit, it can tolerably be omitted. For the use of *consensus* Stylow adduces the contemporary text of Tac., *Hist.* 1, 30: *Galbam consensus generis humani … Caesarem dixit*; cf. Cic., *Epp. ad fam.* 10, 12, 4: … *et omnium generum ordinumque consensus ad liberandam rem p. conspiravit.*

viii. *Provincial Officials*

As in Hispania citerior and Lusitania, no evidence of administrative officers has so far come to light in Baetica, no trace of special functionaries of the *concilium*, parallel to those in Tres Galliae. All that remain are two records of a *libertus* of the province, evidently a former slave in the service of the provincial council (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 300–1)

ix. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

The relatively abundant records left by the priests of Baetica begin under Domitian and continue down to the middle of the third century. Throughout this period the roster of provincial priests shows no significant modification in the priestly title, so all that can be said of the historical development of the cult is that its content looks to have remained the same from its inception under Vespasian down to the later third century, when provincial worship evidently lost its vigour, much as in Hither Spain. With all texts yielding at least an approximate dating, a reasonably consistent record emerges comprising representatives of the cult from the Flavian, Antonine, Severan and later periods. Four of these are in fact dated by consuls to specific years, so the chronological development of the provincial priesthood looks to be reasonably secure, at least in broad outline. The single priestess is presumably of Flavian/Antonine date, if not later (above, pp. 224–6).

x. *Priests of Baetica*[67]

1. Ignotus
Origin: Castulo?
Find-Spot: Castulo
Title: *flamen Augustalis in Baetica*
Municipal Career: *primus* [*omnium patronus*?
Imperial Career: *fisci et curator Divi Ti*[*t*]*i in Baetica, prae. Galleciae, pref. fisci Germaniae Caesarum imp., tribunus leg. VIII*
Date: Domitian
References: *CIL* 2, 3271; *CILA* 3/1, 92; Castillo (1998) 24

2. C. Sempronius Speratus
Origin: Mellaria
Find-Spot: Mellaria
Title: *flamen Divorum Augg. provinciae Baeticae*
Date: Trajan
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 799; Castillo (1998) 19

3. M. Cornelius A. *f.* Nova[tus?] Baebius Balbus
Origin: Igabrum
Find-Spot: Igabrum
Title: *flamen provinc. Baeticae*
Imperial Career: *praefectus fabr., trib. mil. leg. VI victricis* [*pi*]*ae* [*fide*]*lis*
Date: Trajan?
References: *CIL* 2^2/5, 316; Castillo (1998) 9

[67] Castillo (1998) 443–57 gives a total of twenty-six priests of Baetica without the recently attested L. Licinius Montanus Sarapio (no. 14). Three items from his list are omitted from the following table as too doubtful to warrant inclusion: nos. 23 (*CIL* 2^2/7, 67), 25 (*HEp* 2, 22), 26 (*AE*, 1982, 632). Similarly the Antoninian priesthood of L. Lucretius Fulvianus, *flamen col(oniarum) immunium provinciae Baetic(ae)* at Tucci, cannot refer to a pre-provincial cult as once thought by Krascheninnikoff followed by Hirschfeld, nor yet to a priesthood of the *conventus Astigitani*, given that the cult of the *conventus* is restricted to Hispania citerior. The likeliest view remains that of Étienne (1958) 178, n. 1, cf. 204, n. 1, who takes the office to be a collective, municipal priesthood exercised successively in the four cities of the *conventus Astigitanus*: Tucci, Itucci, Ucubi and Urso. For discussion see C. González Román *ad CIL* 2^2/5, 69.

4. Q. Cornelius [—]
Origin: Obulco?
Find-Spot: Obulco
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug.* [*provinc. Baetic.*]
Date: late first/early second century
References: *CIL* 2²/7, 133 (Pl. 62); Castillo (1998) 10

5. C. Cosanus C. *f.* Gal. Rusticus
Origin: Corduba
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen designatus provin*[*c*]*. Baet.*
Date: late first/early second century
References: *CIL* 2²/7, 294b; Castillo (1998) 11

6. M. Claudius [—]
Origin: Canania?
Find-Spot: Canania
Title: [*fla*]*m. Aug. provincia*[*e Baeticae*]
Date: late first/early second century
References: *AE* (1974) 369; *CILA* 2/1, 238; *HEp* 4, 659; Castillo (1998) 6

7. [.] Iulius M. *f.* Q. *n.* Gall. Gallus Mummianus
Origin: Corduba
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug. provinc. Baeticae*
Municipal Career: *IIvir c. c. P.*
Imperial Career: *trib. militum coh. maritimae*
Date: first third of second century
References: *CIL* 2²/7, 282; Curchin (1990) 86; Castillo (1988) 14

8. C. Antoni[us .] *fil.* Gal. Seranus
Origin: *Iporcens*[*is*]
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug. provinc. Baeticae*
Date: A.D. 152
References: *CIL* 2²/7, 291 (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 13); Castillo (1998) 4

9. C. Aemilius Niger Annius Senecae *filius* Arvacus Galeria
Origin: *Sexitan.*
Find-Spot: Almuñécar
Title: *flamen Divorum Augustorum provinciae Baeticae*
Date: second half of second century
References: *ILPGr* 8 (Pl. 61); Castillo (1998) 1

10. M. Cassius Serg. Caecili[anus]
Origin: Italica
Find-Spot: Italica
Title: *flaminalis provin*[*ciae*] *Baeticae*
Municipal Career: *flamen perpetuus Divi Traiani; IIvir*
Date: Hadrian/later second century
References: *AE* (1982) 520; *AE* (1983) 519; *ERI* 22bis; *CILA* 2/2, 343 (Pl. 68); Curchin (1990) 145; Castillo (1998) 5

11. L. Cominius L. *f.* Gal. Iulianus
Origin: *Ilurconensis*
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divorum Augg. provinc. Baetic.*
Date: A.D. 191
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 293 (Pl. 14); Castillo (1998) 8

12. P. Octavius Flavus
Origin: Acci
Find-Spot: Acci
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug. provinc. Baet.*
Date: second century
References: *CIL* 2, 3395; Castillo (1998) 16

13. L. Iunius P. *f.* Ser. Paulinus
Origin: Corduba
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flam. provinc. Baet.*
Imperial Career: *pontif., flamen perpet., IIvir c. c. P.*
Date: Severi
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 221 (Pl. 66); Curchin (1990) 93; Castillo (1998) 15

14. L. Licinius L. *f.* Gal. Montanus Sarapio
Origin: Malaca
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divorum Augustorum provinciae Baeticae*
Municipal Career: *adlectus Corduben.*
Date: Severi
References: *AE* (1996) 883; *AAC* 7 (1996) 251–64

15. Sex. Allius / Aelius(?) M[amercus]
Origin: Astigi
Find-Spot: Astigi
Title: *flamen Divor. August.*
Municipal Career: *pontifex perpetuus col. Astigitanae*
Date: late second/early third century
References: *CIL* 2²/5, 1171; Castillo (1998) 2

16. C. A[nnius C.] *f.* Gal. C[andidus]
Origin: Osset Iulia Constantia?
Find-Spot: Tomares?
Title: [*fl*]*amen Divo*[*rum Aug. provinc.?*] *Baetic.*
Municipal Career: *pontifex perpetuus*
Date: late second/early third century
References: *AE* (1974) 376; *CILA* 2/2, 587; Castillo (1998) 3

17. […C]lodius G. *f.* S[ergia] [Sat]urninus
Origin: *Patr*[*ic.*]
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divo*[*r*]. [*Au*]*gg. provinc. Bae*[*tic*].
Municipal Career: [*IIv*]*ir*
Date: late second/early third century
References: *CIL* 2²/7, 292 (Pl. 67); Castillo (1998) 7

18. C. Varinius Pietas
Find-Spot: Ugultunia?
Title: *flaminalis provinciae Baeticae*
Municipal Career: [*II*]*vir*?
Date: late second/early third century
References: *CIL* 2, 983; *EE* 8, 89; *ERBC* 113; Castillo (1998) 22

19. M. Helvius M. *f.* Serg. Rufus
Origin: *Patriciensis*
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen Divor. Aug. provinciae Baetic.*
Date: late second/early third century
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 296; Castillo (1998) 13

20. [. Fab. M. *f.* Gal. …]dus
Origin: Celti
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: [*flam*]*en Divor. Aug. provinc. Baet*[*icae*]
Date: A.D. 216
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 295; Castillo (1998) 12

21. L. Octavius Licianus Galeria (sic)
Origin: *Seriensi*[*s*]
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flaminalis prov. Baeticae*
Date: early third century
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 297 (Pl. 65); Castillo (1998) 17

22. L. Valerius Fuscinus
Origin: *Cordubensis*
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen* …
Date: A.D 245
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 255 (Pl. 63); Castillo (1998) 20

23. M. Val. Saturninus
Origin: *Lacipponens.*
Find-Spot: Corduba
Title: *flamen* …
Date: A.D. 253–60
References: *CIL* 2^2/7, 259 (Pl. 64); Castillo (1998) 21

xi. *Priestesses of Baetica*

24. Quintia M. *f.* Flaccina
Origin: *Munig.*
Find-Spot: Munigua
Title: *flaminic. Divar. Aug. splend. provinc. Baetic.*
Date: Flavian/Antonine?
References: *AE* (1966) 183; *AE* (1972) 270–1; Castillo (1998) 18

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ALPES COTTIAE

A single priest of the Cottian Alps is attested, T. Cassius Sextinus (no. 1), who evidently belonged to the *civitas Ebroduniensis*.[1] All that his honorific *titulus* at Segusio records is that he had served as *decurio* and *duumvir* at Ebrodunum (or Eborodunum: *CIL* 12, p. 11) before attaining the priesthood of the province, in which case his career places him in by far the largest category of provincial priests, those whose previous experience had been entirely municipal. The title *flamen Aug.* can hardly be expanded *Aug(usti)* as this has no parallel in provincial cult but either *Aug(ustorum)* or *Aug(ustalis)* would fit the bill; we have seen that the latter is a generic formula appropriate to various forms of provincial cult (above, p. 224). On either completion he presumably catered to living and dead *Augusti* in a provincial worship that was conceivably Flavian in origin, given the proximity of the Cottian Alps to Narbonese Gaul. Nothing is known of the site where rites unfolded though the provincial centre will by all analogy have been located at Segusio, the centre of the region, capital of King Cottius and site of a small amphitheatre.[2]

i. *Priests of Alpes Cottiae*

1. T. Cassius T. *fil.* Quir. Sextinus
Origin: Ebrodunum
Find-Spot: Segusio
Title: *flamen Aug. provinciae* [*C*]*ottianae*
Municipal Career: *dec., IIvir civitatis Ebroduniens.*
References: *CIL* 5, 7259

[1] For earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 110; Kasser (1950) 150–63.
[2] *RE* 2, 3 (1921) 1107 (Philipp); *KP* 5 (1979) 75–6 (Radke); further Vol. III, 3, 183.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ALPES MARITIMAE

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

Four priests of the Maritime Alps are epigraphically recorded, two at Cemenelum, the site of the provincial centre (*CIL* 5, p. 903) with its modest amphitheatre,[1] though neither text was set up by the provincial council. An inscription honouring Flavius Sabinus (no. 1) in A.D. 181 was erected to their *optimus patronus* by the *tabernarii Salinienses*, while the *memoria sanctissima* of C. Subrius Secundinus (no. 4) is perpetuated on a funerary monument erected by his brother C. Subrius Severianus, *inmatura eius morte deceptus*; a second part of the same memorial laments the death of Secundinus at the age of forty-four years and four months. A third text found at Ebrodunum takes the form of a marble tablet that L. Allius Verinus (no. 2) erected to himself, his most respectful wife, now deceased, his excellent mother-in-law, still living, and two sons (one a decurion) and a daughter, likewise still alive. In a fourth text (no. 3) Valeria […]na honours at Vintium her deceased father, whose name is largely lost.

ii. *Career and Title*

The greater range of these records gives a fuller impression of the priests who served the province. Whereas L. Allius Verinus (no. 2) had filled the offices of *decurio* and *duumvir*, evidently at Ebrodunum though his tribe (Papiria) suggests he originated elsewhere (*CIL* 12, p. 11), Flavius Sabinus (no. 1) had not only acted as *decurio* and *duumvir* at Salinae, the centre of the *civitas* of the Suetrii, but had also been *duumvir* at Forum Iulium (Fréjus). All that is known of Val. […] C[…] (no. 3) is that he served as *sacerdos Vint(iensium)* at Vence. As in the Cottian Alps, therefore, all priests have an entirely municipal background that in two cases culminated in the office of *duumvir*. The title of the provin-

[1] *RE* 3 (1899) 1894 (Ihm); *KP* 1 (1979) 1103–4 (Leglay). See further Laguerre, *I Nice-Cimiez* 93–5 *ad CIL* 5, 7907, 7917; *CIL* 12, 81; further Vol. III, 3, 183.

cial priest is given in three instances simply as *flamen / flamen provinciae Alpium Maritimarum* (nos. 1, 3, 4) but L. Allius Verinus (no. 2) is accorded the fuller formula *flam(en) Aug. provinc(iae) Alp(ium) Mar(itimarum)*, parallel to the version attested in the Cottian Alps. Once again the same completions *Aug(ustorum)* or *Aug(ustalis)* are possible with like implications for the origin and content of the cult. The most striking feature of these priesthoods, however, is that in two cases (nos. 3, 4) the provincial priest served as patron of the province as well as provincial *flamen*; in this capacity C. Subrius Secundinus is remembered as *pietatis, eloquentiae, morum magister*. Patrons have left their traces elsewhere[2] but these are the first examples of incumbents who were provincial priest and provincial patron simultaneously—if that is really the implication of *et*. A better grasp of the chronology of the priesthood would have helped but only in two cases do we have a specific (no. 1) or approximate date (no. 2), though the titles of the provincial priests certainly suggest that none are earlier than the Flavian era.

iii. *Priests of Alpes Maritimae*

1. [?] Flavius Verini *filius* Qu[ir. S]abinus
Origin: Salinae
Find-Spot: Cemenelum
Title: *flamen provin*[*c.*] *Alpium Maritimarum*
Municipal Career: *decurio, IIvir* [*Sa*]*lin. civitatis suae, IIvir* [*For*]*oiuliiensis; patronus tabernariorum Saliniensium*
Date: A.D. 181
References: *CIL* 5, 7907

2. Allius Veri *f.* Pap. Verinus
Find-Spot: Ebrodunum
Title: *flam. Aug. provinc. Alp. Mar.*
Municipal Career: *dec., IIvir*
Date: second century
References: *CIL* 12, 81

[2] A single patron of the province is attested in Hispania citerior, Baetica and Dalmatia, Britannia and Mauretania Tingitana have each produced two, Mauretania Caesariensis no less than seven; cf. Deininger (1965) 111, 116, 128, 130, 132, 168–9.

3. Val. […] C[…]
Origin: Vintium
Find-Spot: Vintium
Title: *flam. et patrono* […] *Alp. Marit*[…]
Municipal Career: *sacerdo*[*s*] *Vint.*
References: *ILGN* 3; *AE* (1924) 61

4. C. Subrius Secundinus
Find-Spot: Cemenelum
Title: *flamen et patronus provinciae*
References: *CIL* 5, 7917

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

DACIA

Evidence for provincial priests in the Danube region is sparse compared with the very considerable traces they have left behind in Gaul, Spain and North Africa. A further element that complicates a general survey is the relatively frequent occurrence of so-called *sacerdotales incerti*: that is, past holders of the office of *sacerdos* who give no indication of whether they have served at the provincial or municipal level. Given the prestige of the provincial office, however, it seems reasonable to assume that a past provincial priest would have been careful to have his status duly recorded, as plainly the case in so many priestly inscriptions (see below). In light of this consideration it seems methodologically appropriate, therefore, to follow Deininger's lead in taking as past provincial priests only those whose titulature explicitly includes a reference to the province they have served.[1] For the purposes of the present analysis the rest are best left out of consideration as in all probability past priests of some colony or municipality.

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

With nine, perhaps ten priests of Dacia now attested in the epigraphic sources, a reasonably clear picure of the provincial priesthood begins to emerge.[2] Attention may be drawn in the first place to a number of direct dedications made by the priest himself. Particularly interesting in the present context is an altar or statue base discovered in the vicinity of the amphitheatre and Asklepieion at Sarmizegetusa; this was dedicated by P. Aelius Antipater (*iun.*), possibly to the *numen* of some emperor as well as to the *genius* of Dacia (no. 5: *IDR* 3/2, 217: Vol. III, 1, Pl. 20). Similarly at Napoca a provincial priest (no. 7) made a votive

[1] Deininger (1965) 113–15.

[2] See the list of priests, below, pp. 259–62. For earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 118–19; Nawotka (1987) 178–84; Ardevan (1998) 328–41, 610–11 with Table LVII. I am much indebted for advice and contribution of inaccessible material on the Danube provinces to R. Ardevan, D. Boteva, L. Mrozewicz and M. Sasel-Kos.

dedication apparently to the Gesahenae, a by-name of the Matronae in the Rhineland (cf. *CIL* 13, 7889–90, 8496)[3] while at Sarmizegetusa another *sacerdos* set up a marble altar to Mars Augustus for the *salus* of Gordian (no. 9). Purely honorific documents, on the other hand, include a marble altar which a provincial priest set up at Sarmizegetusa in honour of his dutiful sister, wife of a local *quinquennalis* at the colony (no. 2), likewise a marble plaque that an unknown past provincial priest (*sacerdotalis*) erected in honour of some unknown person, perhaps also at Sarmizegetusa (no. 3).

In all remaining testimonia the priest himself is the honoree. At Apulum three texts record respectively a dedication to a provincial priest by his *libertus* (no. 1), another to a priest (no. 4) who is honoured on a large marble base inscribed apparently by his slave Rufinus (cf. *CIL* 3, p. 2409), and the payment of a vow to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator by the steward Onesimus for the welfare of the provincial priest as well as for himself and all his near ones (no. 5: *AE*, 1930, 8). Against these records can be set a bare reference to a past priest of Dacia whose title is inscribed in larger letters at the head of a fragmentary list of veterans at Potaissa, possibly set up by the tribune of the Legio V Macedonica (no. 6). Of special note for its wider implications is a provincial *sacerdotium* (no. 8: *IDR* 3/2, 79) recorded in an eponymous capacity on a defaced tablet at Sarmizegusa that the provincial council evidently erected to some god for the *salus* of Severus Alexander; the name of the same priest occurs at Apulum on what looks to be an honorific text set up by the priest's daughter(?). In contrast a possible trace of uncertain provenance gives no clue whatsoever to the nature of the document (no. 10).

It hardly needs stressing that by far the most striking feature of this body of evidence is that, in contrast to the picture in Tres Galliae, Hither Spain or Baetica, not a single trace occurs of any honorific statue erected to a past provincial priest by the provincial *concilium*. Dacia compares in this respect with Lusitania or Africa Proconsularis, where comparable numbers of priests are attested, yet no base survives on which the province has commemorated a past priest. Otherwise the fact that so many inscriptions connected with provincial cult occur at Sarmizegetusa emphasizes the function of the city as the provincial centre.[4] All the same, four texts were found at Apulum (nos. 1, 4,

[3] On the Matronae Gesahenae see *RE* 7, 1 (1910) 1296 (Ihm).

[4] Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 10–14. Cf. nos. 2, ?3, 5, 8, 9. See further *CIL* 3, 7902,

5, 8), one possibly at Potaissa (no. 6), and one at Napoca (no. 7), so other communities are widely represented. It was of course by no means obligatory that the provincial centre should coincide with the governor's residence.[5] In fact in the Danube provinces the opposite seems more often to have been the case,[6] though in Dacia the provincial governor was headquartered at Sarmizegetusa when he was not in camp, say, at Apulum with its *praetorium consulare*.[7]

ii. *The Priestly Title*

The most obvious feature of the provincial cult of Dacia is that the priest is called *sacerdos*, not *flamen*. The terminology is plainly connected with the fact that the cult centred on the living ruler rather than living and dead *Augusti* jointly and that the focus of the cult was an altar. No trace of a temple exists,[8] nor could any have been expected given the total absence of deified emperors within the provincial worship. The location of the provincial altar is not directly in evidence but has been inferentially placed near the amphitheatre north of the city of Sarmizegetusa, in an area set aside for provincial purposes.[9] If the term *sacerdos* originally marked the combination of the goddess Roma with the living emperor, as notably in Tres Galliae, by the late second and third centuries it had plainly become the title appropriate to a priest who served a cult in which Roma no longer had her place.[10] The commonest version of the formula looks to have been *sacerdos arae Aug./Aug. n.* (nos. 2, 4, 5, ?10), to which was later added *coronatus Daciarum III* (nos. 7, 9) but *sacerdos provinciae* (no. 1) also occurs, as does *sacerdotalis provinciae* (no. 3) and *sacerdotalis Daciae* (no. 6). No evolution of the title is apparent: aside from the circumstance that *coronatus* does not apppear before the early third century, the different versions are used more or

1434; *IDR* 3/2, 80, 81, 94 (cf. 93) .

[5] Deininger (1965) 143–4.

[6] Fitz (1985) 262. But see Kos (1992) 214.

[7] Piso (1993) 37–8, notes that, despite maintaining the closest connection with Sarmizegetusa, the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Upper Dacia must have conducted the major part of his activities out of Apulum, the camp of the Legio XIII Gemina, which he commanded.

[8] Vol. I, 1, 165–7; Vol. I, 2, 302; Ardevan (1998) 338–40.

[9] Vol. III, 3, 174–7.

[10] Vol. I, 1, 132.

less concurrently, a feature which suggests that, as in Tres Galliae in particular, there was no set formula.

Otherwise there seems no reason to doubt that the priest of Dacia will have been elected, as normally, from members of the *concilium* and that his responsibilites corresponded to those of his counterparts in other provinces.[11] No repetition of the office is attested, not that this excludes such a possibility, but as commonly the case elsewhere he was termed *sacerdotalis* on the close of his mandate. The prestige of his position, well in evidence throughout the Latin west, is clear from the fact that the priesthood could be used to date a particular year (no. 8: below). Undoubtedly the most significant feature of the priest's titulature in Dacia, however, is the later addition of the term *coronatus*, a development which dates from about the reign of Severus Alexander and shows that the provincial priest started to wear the golden crown in oriental fashion; evidently oriental influences affected the provincial priesthood much as they did other aspects of provincial life.[12] Conceivably this particular characteristic of the provincial cult of Dacia goes some way towards explaining the jumble of temples to strange deities that looks to have stood in the proximity of the inferred provincial precinct just outside the boundaries of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.

Of particular interest is a defaced plaque of white marble at Sarmizegetusa recording a dedication by the council of Tres Daciae, evidently on behalf of the *salus* of Severus Alexander, whose name has been obliterated in the aftermath of his *damnatio memoriae* under Maximinus Thrax:

> [—| *pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)* | *M(arci) Aur(elii) Seueri Alexan*|*d]ri pii felicis Aug(usti)* | *concilium pr*[*o*]|*vinciarum Dac(iarum) I*[*II* | *?dedicante Iasdio* | *Domitiano co(n)s(ulari)*] | *sacerdot(io) Tib(erii) Cl(audii)* | *Augustiani eq(uo) p(ublico)*. *IDR* 3/2, 79 (no. 8)

The upper part of the stone is regrettably missing but everything suggests that the first line will have recorded the name of the deity to whom the dedication was addressed.[13] The sixth and seventh lines were

[11] Deininger (1965) 150–1; Diacoviciu, Dazien (1966) 14.

[12] *DE* 2 (1910) (1961) 1236–7 (Festa); *RE*, Zweite Reihe 3, 2 (1929) 2343–7 (Stier); Deininger (1965) 118, n. 5; Vol. II, 1, 478 with n. 17. Cf. Tertull., *De Idolol.* 18, 1 (above, p. 192).

[13] While any appropriate deity might fit the bill, the likeliest candidate would be an Augustan god, that is a deity who operated within the sphere of the emperor as his helper and protector; cf. Vol. II, 1, 446–50; further below, p. 261, n. 2. The name

patently mutilated in similar manner but the outside possibility that whoever was responsible would have taken the trouble to delete the formula *devotus numini maestatique eius*[14] looks improbable, given that in line 3 he has not bothered to erase the last syllable of *Alexandri* or the epithet *pii*. Far more likely is that the excised name is that of the Severan governor of Dacia, Iasdius Domitianus, who was not officially damned but had his name occasionally obliterated on the initiative of those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the new regime; cf. *IDR* 3/4, 221 (Cumidava).[15] The phrase erased here, [*dedicante Ia*]*ṣḍiọ* | [*Domitiano l*]*egato* | … , is preserved in two other texts where the name of Iasdius Domitianus has not been deleted: *IDR* 3/1, 76 (Mehadia), *CIL* 3, 797–8. (Ilişua).[16] If one follows the convincing lead of I. Piso in restoring a similar formula in the Sarmizegetusa inscription (above),[17] Iasdius Domitianus will have performed the act of *dedicatio* in this instance also.

Two features of the text are of relevance to the present discussion. The first point concerns the last two lines, which date the dedication in the priesthood of Tiberius Claudius Augustianus (no. 8), that is before A.D. 235, the terminal date of the governorship of Iasdius Domitianus.[18] The abstract term *sacerdotium* confirms that the provincial title was *sacerdos* as always in Dacia, though the full formula at this date may well have been *sacerdos arae Augusti nostri* (possibly with the addition of *coronatus Daciarum III)*, but to date the inscription by the priesthood is most unusual. In fact this is the sole example of an eponymous priesthood in Dacia, while elsewhere in the Latin west only two parallels occur, both in Baetica (*CIL* 2^2/7, 255, 259). Secondly, since the provincial priest was chairman of the *concilium*, he was necessarily present at the ceremony of dedication. This suggests that he will have assisted in the formal

---

of Mars Augustus suggests itself as a possible conjectural restoration on the model of *IDR* 3/2, 266 (no. 9): *Marti Aug(usto)* | *pro salute imp(eratoris)* | *Caes(aris) M(arci) Antoni* | *Gordiani Pii* | *felicis Aug(usti)* | *M(arcus) Antonius* | *Valentinus* | *eq(ues) R(omanus) dec(urio) m(unicipi) Apul(ensis)* | *sacerdos arae* | *Aug(usti) n(ostri)* | *coronatus Dac(iarum)* | *III d(ono) d(edit)*. Alternatively I. O. M Conservator might come into consideration; cf. *AE* (1930) 8 (no. 5).

[14] As suggested by the editors *ad IDR* 3/2, 79. But see the discussion by Gundel (1953), listing no examples where the formula has been erased. On the contrary the formula is left untouched in two instances where a name has been excised: *CIL* 5, 1762; *CIL* 6, 1190.

[15] Piso (1982) 226 with n. 10.

[16] Piso (1993) 192–3.

[17] Piso (1982) 227 with nn. 13–14; *id.* (1993) 193.

[18] For the governorship of Iasdius Domitianus (?—235) see Piso (1993) 192–6.

rite of *dedicatio*, in which case this is a further instance of ritual activity on the part of the provincial priest, so to be added to similar examples at Emerita, Corduba and Troesmis.[19] On the face of it there may be an important difference at Sarmizegetusa. Whereas at Emerita the object dedicated is a *protome* of Titus and at Corduba the inscriptions refer to a series of imperial *statuae*, here at Sarmizegetusa a dedication, undoubtedly to a divinity of some kind, is recorded on what seems to be a plaque. Whether this originated from a statue base or was simply a tablet posted somewhere is unclear. But even if the stone did not originally support a statue, a dedication made by the province must have required financial resources every bit as much as the placement of a statue.[20] In fact at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls we have explicit evidence that the high priest Q. Adginnius Martinus made a dedication to Mars Segomo *ex stipe annua*—precisely out of federal funds (*CIL* 13, 1675, cf. 1669).[21] Everything suggests, then, that at Sarmizegetusa one is privy to a similar expenditure of provincial funds, evidently with the assent of the provincial governor Iasdius Domitius, as confirmed by his performance of the dedication on behalf of the provincial council.

iii. *Origin and Social Background*

Despite the fact that the provincial centre had its seat at the colony of Sarmizegetusa, only two priests (nos. 2, 4) look to have certainly originated from here, so in contrast to the picture in, say, Hispania citerior the surviving epigraphical evidence does not support the inference that a candidate's chances of election to the priesthood of Dacia were improved if his *patria* happened to be the provincial capital; the picture could be distorted by the chance of survival of course. Somewhat surprisingly, the great majority of priests whose records have come down apparently originated from Municipium Aurelium Apulense (no. 1), Colonia Aurelia Apulensis (no. 5), or Municipium Septimium Apulense (nos. 8, 9).[22] The origin of the *ignotus* possibly attested at Potaissa is unclear (no. 6) but there is a single trace from Napoca (no. 7) and the connection of another *ignotus* (no. 3) with the municipali-

[19] On *CIL* 2, 5264 (Emerita) see Vol. III, 1, 166–7. For similar ritual at Corduba and Troesmis see above, pp. 222–3 and below, p. 288.

[20] Cf. Ardevan (1998) 336, n. 155, suggesting that this text like *IDR* 3/2, 80–1 confirms the province had its own funds.

[21] Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 250; cf. Deininger (1965) 156–8.

[22] For the development of these centres see Ardevan, *o.c.* 48–50 with Table XVI.

ties of Porolissum and Tibiscum could point to a candidate from either of these widely separated centres. On a broader view, however, the narrow range of the surviving evidence rules out identification of any pattern of origins other than the obvious fact that the principal centres of Sarmizegetusa and Apulum provided the bulk of known appointees. As in other provinces, provincial priests were evidently recruited from the elite of municipal aristocracy; in particular, the *sacerdos arae Augusti* produced by the Cominii of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegtusa (no. 2) was clearly a leading member of provincial society.[23]

iv. *Career*

Five of the known priests of Dacia are recorded as equestrians (nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9) and the same rank is plainly attributable to P. Aelius Maximus (no. 7), perhaps also to the *ignotus* documented at Potaissa (no. 6).[24] Daicoviciu assumed a similar rank in other cases, though for no stated reason, while Ardevan proposes the same status in the case of the other *ignotus* (no. 3), whose rank is not explicit. In any event it seems clear that proportionately about as many provincial priests belong to the *ordo equester* as in any other province of the Latin west. Since rank conveyed *dignitas*, this says something of the prestige of the *sacerdotium* of the Three Daciae, particularly in the third century when in contrast to the picture, say, in Hispania citerior, there are no signs that the office was losing its appeal. Equestrian rank looks sometimes to have proceeded (no. 9), more often succeeded municipal office (nos. 2, 4, ?7, 8), though only in one, perhaps two instances (nos. 7, ?6) is the individual concerned recorded to have actually served in an equestrian office. We therefore have a single secure example of the mixed equestrian and municipal career distinguished by Alföldy in Hither Spain. As there is no Dacian example of a priest who served on the five panels of jurors or was at least placed on the list of potential jurors (*adlectus*), the rest fall into what in most provinces is by far the largest category of provincial priests, those who have previously served in an entirely municipal capacity (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10). Of note in this connection is the complete absence of the stereotype formula *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus*, which had become common in Tres Galliae and Hispania Citerior from the time of Hadrian, though a full career is documented or

[23] Ardevan (1993) 227–32.
[24] Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966) 14; Ardevan (1998) 339, cf. 232–5.

can reasonably be inferred in several cases (nos. 1, 2, 4, 7).[25] All the main posts on the municipal ladder of offices are recorded in one career or another—*decurio* (1, ?3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10), *aedilis* (1), *duumvir* (4, 5), *quattuorvir* (1), *quinquennalis* (2, 7) *augur* (4, 8), *pontifex* (2), *flamen* (5, 7)[26]—so there can be no doubt that by and large the provincial priests of Dacia were men of wide administrative experience, at least at the municipal level. In the case of P. Aelius Strenuus (no. 4) municipal posts at three centres, the colonies of Sarmizegetusa, Apulum and Drobeta, look to have preceded his appointment to the provincial priesthood. Civic office at more than one centre is also recorded in the careers of nos. 3 and perhaps 7, while no. 2 was patron of the guild of smiths and no. 4 served as patron of the guilds of smiths, ragmen and sailors, as well as contractor of pasture lands, salt pits and market places—all apparently before his provincial priesthood. On the other hand it would appear that no. 7 is recorded as decurion at Napoca *after* his provincial *sacerdotium*. As has been noted in other provinces, a career following the provincial priesthood is a very restricted phenomenon.

v. *Chronology of the Priesthood of Dacia*

In comparison with other provinces Dacia has produced a roster of priests who can be dated with relative security. Whether the origins of a provincial cult and *concilium* reach back to the period soon after the region was annexed by Trajan must remain uncertain in the absence of firm evidence. The earliest traces of the provincial priesthood date from the second half of the second century and become relatively plentiful in the third before fading out towards A.D. 250. To these records must naturally be added the documented activities of the provincial council, which begin under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and are likewise well attested in the third century under Severus Alexander, Gordian and Philippus Arabs. A *terminus ante* for the demise of the provincial priesthood is plainly set by the evacuation of the province under Aurelian following the Gothic invasions of A.D. 250–70.

[25] For the municipal career of M. Cominius Quintus (no. 3) see Ardevan (1993) 229, taking the *cursus* to have begun with the quaestorship or aedileship.

[26] Ardevan (1992) 45–53.

vi. *Priests of Dacia*[27]

1. C. Ulpius Bonus
Origin: *mun. Aur. Apulense*
Find-Spot: Apulum
Title: *s. pr.*
Municipal Career: [*d*]*ec., aed.*, [*III*]I*vir m. A.*
Date: A.D. 161–80
References: *AE* (1956) 207; Ardevan, *R* 307

2. M. Cominius Quintus
Origin: Sarmizegetusa
Find-Spot: Sarmizegetusa
Title: *sacerdos arae Aug.*
Municipal Career: *pontif., qq., praef. qq. pro Antonino imp., patr. coll. fabr.*
Imperial Career: *eq. p.*
Date: A.D. 180–200
References: *IDR* 3/2, 108, cf. 19, 107; Ardevan, *R* 121, cf. 54, 118

3. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Sarmizegetusa?
Title: *sacerdotal. provinciae*
Municipal Career: [*dec.*? *municip*]*iorum Porolis. et Tibisc.*
Date: post A.D. 200
References: *IDR* 3/2, 353; Ardevan, *R* 166

4. P. Ael. P. *fil.* Pap. Strenuus
Origin: Sarmizegetusa
Find-Spot: Apulum
Title: *sacerd. arae Aug.*
Municipal Career: *augur, IIviralis col. Sarm., augur col. Apul., dec. col. Drob., patron. collegior. fabr. centonar. et nautar., conduc. pascui, salinar. et commercior.*
Imperial Career: eq. p.
Date: after A.D. 200
References: *CIL* 3, 1209; Ardevan, *R* 299

[27] Ardevan, *R* refers to the epigraphical *repertoriul* in Ardevan (1998).

5. P. Ael. A[ntipater] (*iun.*)
Origin: *col. Aur. Apulensis*
Find-Spot: (A) Sarmizegetusa; (B) Apulum
Title: (A) *sac.*] *arae A*[*ugusti n.*]; (B) *sac. arae Aug.*
Municipal Career: *flame*[*n colon.*] *Apulen*[*sis, dec., IIvira.*
Imperial Career: *eq.*[*p.*
Date: after A.D. 200
References: (A) *IDR* 3/2, 217 (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 20); Ardevan, *R* 183; (B) *AE* (1930) 8; Ardevan, *R* 358, cf. 352, 357

6. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Potaissa?
Title: *sac*]*erdotalis Daciae*
Imperial Career: [*trib.*? *leg. V Mac.*]
Date: after A.D. 212
References: *CIL* 3, 7688; Ardevan, *R* 427a

7. P. A]elius Maxi[mus
Origin: Napoca
Find-Spot: Napoca
Title: [*sacerdos ar*]*ae Aug. n.* [*coronat. Dac. I*]*II*
Municipal Career: [*IIvir q*]*q., fla*[*men col. Nap.*], *dec. col.*
Imperial Career: *a militi(i)s*
Date: early third century
References: Piso, Epigraphica (XI) (1980) 126–7; Ardevan, *R* 463

8. Tib. Cl. Augustianus
Origin: *mun. Sept. Apulense*
Find-Spot: (A) Sarmizegetusa; (B) Apulum
Title: (A) *sacerdotium* (*sacerdos arae Aug.*?); (B) *vacat*
Municipal Career: *augur m. Ap.*
Imperial Career: *eq. p.*
Date: before A.D. 235
References: (A) *IDR* 3/2, 79; Ardevan, *R* 91; (B) Piso (1981) 444–5, no. 2; Ardevan, *R* 373

9. M. Antonius Valentinus
Origin: *mun. Sept. Apulense*
Find-Spot: Sarmizegetusa
Title: *sacerdos arae Aug. n. coronatus Dac. III*
Municipal Career: *dec. m. Apul.*
Imperial Career: *eq. R.*
Date: A.D. 238–44
References: *IDR* 3/2, 266; Ardevan, *R* 148a

10. Lo]ngi[nus?
Title: [*sac. arae Aug.*?] *n.*
Municipal Career: *dec.*
References: *IDR* 3/2, 132; Ardevan, *R* 135

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

If one leaves out of account *sacerdotales* not specifically attested as provincial, a total of six priests of Upper Pannonia have so far put in an appearance.[1] As in the neighbouring province of Dacia not a single example occurs of an honorific statue set up by the provincial council on completion of a priest's term of office; this type of evidence, our principal source of information in Tres Galliae or Hispania citerior and of key importance in Baetica, looks to be entirely absent in the Danube region. Instead the priests of Upper Pannonia are remarkable for the circumstance that, in contrast to the overall picture in the Latin West, they have in several cases left definite traces of cultic activities on their own part. Two instances are directly relevant to the priest's office. At Savaria L. Valerius Valerianus (no. 1) set up an altar to Nemesis Augusta in accordance with his vow, while at Aquae Iasae L. Claudius Moderatus (no. 6) erected a statue of Minerva Augusta; in both cases the act of cult is addressed to a deity who protects the emperor and exercises her power within his sphere.[2] With these may be compared a dedication to I. O. M. Nundiarius set up near Siscia by G. D[…] Victorinus (no. 4) for the *salus* of the emperor Gordian, an act of homage that stresses the human aspect of the emperor.[3] Similarly at Carnuntum a pedestal in the form of an altar records that [Oc]t(avius) Faustinianus dedicated on 23 August, A.D. 219, a statue of a Genius he had given to the college of workmen at Carnuntum, likewise for the welfare of the reigning emperor Elagabalus (no. 2: *AE*, 1968, 422, Pl. 69); the coincidence of the date with the festival of the Volcanalia presumably reflects the fact that the *collegium fabrum* will have served as

[1] For earlier discussion of the priesthood of Upper Pannonia see Deininger (1965) 116–17; Fitz (1985) 257–8; *id.* (1993) 423–4, 427, 760, 822; Nowotka (1987) 169–72. The discussion of Mócsy in *RE* Suppl. 9 (1962) 595 includes *sacerdotales incerti*.

[2] Vol. II, 1, 446–50. For the title *Augustus* in Augustan gods see recently Villaret (1999) 134–5; further above, p. 258, n. 13.

[3] Liertz (1998) 158–62.

the local fire brigade at the civic centre of Carnuntum.[4] Near Poetovio in contrast the upper half of an altar of white marble records that M(?). Aurelius Maximinus (no. 5) paid his vow to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis on behalf of his own welfare, that of his wife Aurelia Marcellina, and of all his family (Pl. 70).[5] Other traces simply attest the existence of provincial priests. At Savaria a white marble tablet, evidently posted high on the wall of some building, records that L. Valerius Verus (no. 3) along with T. Cnorius Sabinianus restored at their own expense a *crypta* which had been destroyed by fire,[6] while what looks to be a dedication slab honours a provincial priest whose lost name can be restored from a second trace as [Oc]ṭ(avius) Faustinianus (no. 2: *CIL* 3, 4170).[7]

ii. *The Priestly Title*

Evidence is insufficient to trace the evolution of the provincial cult of Upper Pannonia in detail, though this must plainly have been instituted following the division of Pannonia under Trajan *ca.* A.D. 106, when Carnuntum was made the capital city of the province. Where the provincial centre was situated is not explicitly in evidence but most commentators have followed Mommsen in opting for Savaria, where three records of provincial priests occur, one referring to an *ar*]*a Augg.* [*provinc*]*iae P. s.* (no. 2, cf. nos. 1, 3).[8] As in Dacia and other Danube provinces, the priestly title is *sacerdos*/*sacerdotalis*, a term that plainly links the cult with the living emperor. In practice, however, only two examples of the priestly formula explicitly include the living emperor, the restored Severan formula at Savaria, in which the double G plainly points to two reigning Augusti: [*sac(erdos) ar*]*ae Augg(ustorum)* [*provinc*]*iae P(annoniae) s(uperioris)* (no. 2) and an undated record at Aquae Iasae of a *sacerdot(alis) arae Aug(usti)* (no. 6). Otherwise there is one example of *sace*[*rd*]*os provinc*[*ia*]*e Pannoniae superi(oris)* (no. 5) and two of the abbreviated formula *sac. P. s.*/*sup.* (nos. 1, 4). Whether these latter titles should be expanded *sac(erdos)* or *sac(erdotalis)* is uncertain as there are two

[4] Alföldy (1965) 267.

[5] On the interpretation of Hoffiller-Saria *ad AIJ* 449 the dedication is to I. O. M. Culm(inali), in which case Aurelius Maximinus lacks a *praenomen*.

[6] For proposed interpretations of *crypta* see Visky (1958) 95, n. 57, suggesting that the letter forms date the text under Alexander Severus.

[7] So Alföldy (1983) 233; cf. *id.* (1965) 265.

[8] Vol. III, 1, 177–8.

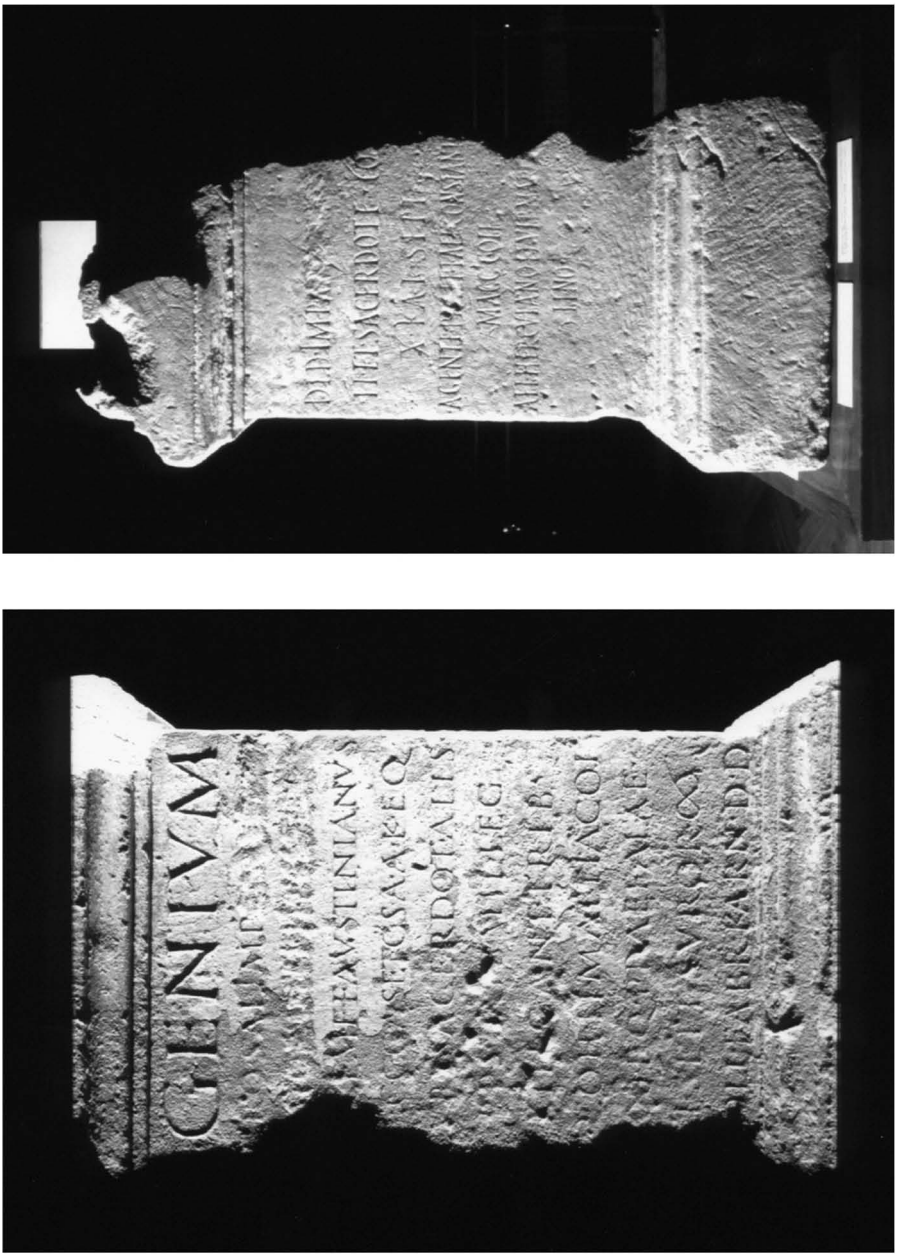


Plate 69. Dedication of Genius at Carnuntum by Octavius(?) Faustinianus; (a) anterior face; (b) posterior face

Plate 70. Inscription of M.(?) Aurelius Maximinus.

further instances in which one has the full formula *sacerdotalis p. P. s.* (nos. 2, 3). Properly speaking, the term *sacerdotalis* denotes a past priest and as a rule excludes any reference to the object of the cult, though the latest reading of the title of L. Cl. Moderatus (no. 6) would provide a counter example, if correct. The point comes out clearly in the inscriptions of [Oc]ṭ(avius) Faustinianus (no. 2), who in his earlier record is clearly styled [*sac(erdos) ar*]*ae Augg.* … at a time when he was in office and had not yet begun his military career. In contrast his later text, which lists subsequent equestrian posts, gives the term *sacerdotalis p. P. s.* Slight as the available information is, then, it is at least clear that the provincial cult of Upper Pannonia was addressed to the living emperor, served by a *sacerdos*, and centred on an altar that to all appearances was situated at Savaria.

iii. *Origin and Career*

Of the six provincial priests three originate from Savaria (nos. 2, 3, 6), two from Siscia (nos. 1, 4), and one from near Poetovio (no. 5). Despite the limited range of this evidence, it again looks as if a candidate's chances of reaching the provincial priesthood were higher if his *patria* coincided with the seat of the provincial council, apparently located at Savaria rather than Carnuntum, the provincial capital (above). The data are too few to suggest any other reason why a priest's origin might have played a role in his election, though it is noticeable that in all cases the *patria* of each provincial priest is a colony.

All provincial priests had wide municipal experience and are in every case recorded as decurions of their native city; indeed in two instances a priest was decurion at two centres: [Oc]ṭ(avius) Faustinianus was [*d*]*ec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(ugustae) S(avariae) et c(oloniae) S(eptimiae) A(ureliae) A(ntoninianae) K(arnunti)* (no. 2: *AE*, 1968, 422, Pl. 69),[9] while L. Claudius Moderatus was *dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) Savaria(e), dec(urio) municipi(i) Ae(lii) Sallae* (no. 6). As elsewhere, therefore, provincial priests were plainly drawn from the local municipal elite. Only L. Valerius Valerianus (no. 1) is known to have held a local flaminate—the fact that the cult of Divus Claudius persisted at Siscia into the second century could point to an earlier rather than a later date for his office—but the same priest became *IIvir i. d.* and went on to serve as

[9] Alfoldy (1965) 265–7 with convincing restitution of the identical civic *honores* in the Savaria inscription; cf. *id.* (1983) 234.

IIvir quinquennalis. In contrast M(?). Aurelius Maximinus (no. 5) looks to have been excused a similar office. As given in both *CIL* 3 and *AIJ*, his inscription reads *ho*[*n*]*ore IIvir(i) q(uin)*[*q(uennalis) e*]*x curat(ore)*, which hardly makes sense. Examination of a photograph of the text (Pl. 70) shows that there are no intervals between the words (as given in the Corpus) but the R of *curat.* is legible on the stone. Conceivably, then, the lapicide has mistakenly engraved R instead of S, in which case the text would read … *honore IIvir(i) q(uin)q(uennalis) excu*⌜*s*⌝*at(us)* … .[10] A third priest, G. D[…] Victorinus (no. 4), is attested as *duumvira(lis)*. Otherwise the priests of Upper Pannonia are notable for including two, perhaps three knights (nos. 2, 4, ?6). L. Claudius Moderatus (no. 6) attained membership of the judicial decuries, so will have been a knight if he served on one of the first three of these. In the *cursus* of Octavius Faustinianus his promotions from the third to the fourth *militia equestris* are recorded in detail and both he and G. D[…] Victorinus appear to have attained equestrian rank after their municipal career but before the provincial priesthood. It follows that in comparison with other provinces there are no instances of a purely equestrian career, but one of the six pursued a mixed municipal and equestrian career, one a municipal career capped by service on the five panels of jurors, while four served entirely at the municipal level. The overall picture in Pannonia Superior corresponds roughly in this respect, therefore, to the general pattern of priestly careers in most provinces of the Latin west.

iv. *Administrative Officers*

No trace of any official comparable to those in Tres Galliae and elsewhere survives but Upper Pannonia has produced a solitary record of a freedman of the province, therefore originally a slave in provincial service:

> *Sex(tus) Utti*[*e*]*dius, C(ai) f(ilius), Claudia tribu, Cele*[*r*], *vete(ranus) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris), ann(orum)* [*L*]*XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). T(itulum) fieri iussit sibi et Utedi(a)e, Fus(ci) lib(ertae) et Valenti, provinciae l(iberto),* … .[11]

[10] I am indebted for this ingenious suggestion to G. Di Vita-Evrard.

[11] Alföldi Jr. (1943) 80, no. 4, citing Horváth (1927–29) 98–9, no. 7, cf. 103, 107.

v. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

A single priesthood can be securely placed between the partition of Pannonia under Trajan and the death of Septimius Severus. Three others fall within the period from the Severi to Gordian I, while in the two remaining cases the priest's inscription preserves no clear indication of date.

vi. *Priests of Pannonia Superior*

1. L. Val. Valerian.
Origin: Siscia
Find-Spot: Savaria
Title: *sac. p. P. s.*
Municipal Career: *dec. col. Fl. Sisc., IIvir i. d., flamen Divi Cl., IIvir. qq.*
Date: A.D. 107–211
References: *AE* (1972) 389; *RIU* 20; *RSS* 38, 89

2. [Oc]ț. M. *f.* Faustinianus
Origin: Savaria
Find-Spot: (A) Savaria; (B) Carnuntum
Title: (A) [*sac. ar*]*ae Augg.* [*provinc*]*iae P. s.*; (B) *sacerdotalis p. P. s.*
Municipal Career: (A) [*dec. c. C.*] *S., dec.* [*col. Sept.*] *Karn.*; (B) [*d*]*ec. c. C. A. S. et c. S. A. A. K.*
Imperial Career: (A) [*equo p*]*ublic.*; (B) *eq.* [*p*]*ub*[*l.*], *trib. mil. leg. XIII G. Ant., trib. coh. II Mattiacor.* (*milliariae*) *eq., praef. alae* [*I*]*I Sept. Suror.* (*milliariae*)
Date: (A) A.D. 198–211; (B) 23 August, A.D. 219
References: (A) *CIL* 3, 4170; *RIU* 71; (B) *AE* (1966) 286; *AE* (1968) 422 (Pl. 69a-b); *AE* (1983) 766

3. L. Val. Verus
Origin: Savaria
Find-Spot: Savaria
Title: *sac*[*e*]*rdotalis p. P. s.*
Municipal Career: *dec. c. C. Savar.*
Date: A.D. 222–35?
References: *CIL* 3, 4183; *RIU* 39; *RSS* 7, 84

4. G. D[…] Q. Victorinus
Origin: Siscia
Find-Spot: Ager ad Colapim
Title: *sac. p. P. sup.*
Municipal Career: *dec. col. Sisc., IIvira.*
Imperial Career: *eq. Rom.*
Date: A.D. 238
References: *CIL* 3, 3936, 10820

5. M(?). Aurel. Maximinus
Origin: Poetovio
Find-Spot: infra Poetovionem
Title: *sace*[*rd*]*os provinc*[*ia*]*e Pannoniae Superi.*
Municipal Career: *de*[*c.*] *col. Poet., ho*[*n*]*ore IIvirq*[*q. e*]*xcu*⌜*s*?⌝*at.*
References: *CIL* 3, 4108; *AIJ* 449 (Pl. 70)

6. L. Cl. Ti. f. Quirina Moderatus
Origin: Savaria
Find-Spot: Aquae Iasae
Title: *sacerdot. arae Aug.*
Municipal Career: *dec. c. C. Savaria(e) dec. municipi. Ae. Sallae*
Imperial Career: *e q. decur.*
References: *AE* (1983) 774; *AE* (1979) 468; *ILIug* 1169

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PANNONIA INFERIOR

i. *The Epigraphic Record*

If one omits three *sacerdotes incerti*[1] along with L. Virius L. *fil.* Mercator, whose title at Gorsium is simply *sacerdos* (not *sacerdos provinciae Panoniae inferioris* or variant),[2] a total of four provincial priests of Lower Pannonia are presently attested with certainty.[3] The surviving records fall into the usual categories of epigraphical texts found in most provinces but it is striking that in Pannonia inferior as elsewhere in the Danube provinces no examples occur of honorific statues which the provincial council has set up to provincial priests on successful completion of service. At Intercisa a defective text apparently records that the provincial priest [M. Ulpius -] (no. 1) erected a statue and altar to a Genius for a group of Roman citizens who on Mommsen's completions met at the *vici* of Intercisa and Vetussalinae: [*Signum et ar*]*am Geni civib(us) R(omanis)* [*qui consistunt ad Intercisam e*]*t Vetuss(alinas)* … .[4] Apparently the priest's father M. Ulp(ius) had left instructions to this effect in his will and bequeathed ten thousand sesterces, whereas his son expended forty thousand in honour of his father. On the restitutions of Mommsen again, the statue and altar were set up [… *in loco celeberrimo t*]*erritori* (sc. *Aquincensis*). At Aquincum C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris (no. 2) commemorated the fountain with its water supply that he had built at his own expense and took the opportunity to give his *cursus* culminating in the provincial priesthood. Likewise at Aquincum Aurelius Audentius (no. 3) paid the vow he had gladly made to Dea Nemesis Augusta on behalf of the *salus* of his daughter Aurelia Audentia and for his own *incolumitas*, conceivably on her recovery from serious illness. Like

[1] Nawotka (1987) 175–8, incudes three *sacerdotales* (*CIL* 3, 3488, 10570, 13368), none of whom have the provincial qualification.

[2] Nowotka, *ibid.*; Alföldy (1997) 232.

[3] For earlier discussion see Deininger (1965) 117–18; Fitz (1985) 259–60; (1993) 425–7, 694.

[4] On *conventus civium Romanorum* see *RE* 4, 1 (1900) 1173–200 (Kornemann); Étienne (1993) 172–4; Maurin (1986) 119 with nn. 51–2.

the erection of a monument by M. Ulpius, this is a private act but of interest in that the deity involved is an Augustan god, a type of divinity occasionally invoked on behalf of the emperor's *salus* (cf. *IDR* 3/2, 266: Sarmizegetusa). Lastly, enough is preserved of a damaged stone at Sopianae to show that an unknown provincial priest (no. 4) along with his son Marcellianus gladly paid his vow to the god who had merited it; the name of the deity is lost.

ii. *Origin and Career*

As for the background and earlier career of the known priests, it seems clear that Titius Antonius Peculiaris (no. 2) originated from Aquincum (below, pp. 272–3, 277), as did perhaps [M. Ulpius] (no. 1). The *ignotus* at Sopianae (no. 4) looks to have come from the colony of Cibalis but the origin of Aurelius Audentius (no. 3) is unknown; as *curator rei publicae*, he would normally not have been native to the centre at which he held office. Sirmium, one of the two colonies of the province before A.D. 193, is not so far recorded to have produced a provincial priest. The evidence is too thin for generalizations but it looks as though it helped in Lower Pannonia as elsewhere if one's *patria* coincided with the provincial capital.

The records of three priests (nos. 1, 2, 4) show that they had pursued an entirely municipal career except that, if the restoration is correct, [M. Ulpius] (no. 1) had earlier served as *primipilus* of the *Legio XII Fulminata*.[5] Otherwise Aurelius Audentius (no. 3) is attested as *c(urator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Aqui(ncensium)*: that is, he assisted with the finances and administration of Aquincum.[6] Appointment to this prestigious office was normally made by the emperor from men of equestrian or even senatorial rank, not that there is any indication of equestrian status in the inscription of Aurelius Audentius. We have seen that the position was occasionally held by past provincial priests in Gallia Narbonensis (above, p. 178). That this was equally the case at Aquincum looks to be implied by *et* (*c. r. p. Aqui. et sacer. provinci.*) as Aurelius Audentius could hardly have served as *curator r. p.* and provincial *sacerdos* at the same time. The point would be clinched if one completes *sacer(dotalis)*—past priest—as given in the Corpus. In that case the text provides one of

[5] On the *Legio XII Fulminata* see the data assembled by Ritterling in *RE* 12 (1925) 1705–10, especially 1708; further Fitz (1993) 177.

[6] See the useful summary of Curchin (1990) 35–6.

the few examples in the western provinces of a post held subsequently to a provincial priesthood. If the restoration is correct (below, pp. 278–80), Titius Antonius Peculiaris had been decurion of both the colony of Aquincum and the municipality of Singidunum in Upper Moesia, while [M. Ulpius] had served as decurion of the colony of Mursa if not also of the municipality of Aquincum. In perhaps three cases (nos. ?1, 2, ?4) the priest had earlier been *duumvir* and in one instance municipal *flamen* (no. 2), so with not a single attested representative of the *ordo equester*,[7] three of the four conform to what is by far the commonest career pattern of provincial priests throughout the Latin west. The earlier *cursus* of Aurelius Audentius is not recorded.

The career of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris (no. 2) is of particular interest since the details of his *cursus* are contentious.[8] An inscription, evidently transported from the ruins of Aquincum to its find-spot at Bath Monoster on the left bank of the Danube, records that he donated a fountain with its water supply. On the completions of the Corpus the text reads:

A *C. Tit(ius) Antonius Peculiaris dec(urio) col(oniae) Aq*[*uinci*] *dec(urio) m(unicipii)* [*Sin*]*g(iduni), IIvir, flam(en), sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris) nymp(haeum) pec(unia) sua fecit et aquam induxit.*
(*CIL* 3, 10496 = *ILS* 7124)

With this may be compared a inscription found at Alt-Ofen or O'Buda, the site of Aquincum, recording a second act of generosity on the part of apparently the same individual. The Corpus gives the following expanded text:

B *C. Tit(ius) C. fil(ius) Serg(ia) Antonius P*[*e*]*culiaris dec(urio) col(oniae) S*[*e*]*pt(imiae) Aq(uinci) item dec(urio) m(unicipii) Sing(iduni) ornamentum forus reipublicae d(ono) d(edit).* (*CIL* 3, 10495 = *ILS* 7124a)

Some obvious features of the two records can be quickly passed in review. The longer text (A) omits the filiation but gives every indication of attesting the same individual as the shorter (B) since the *cursus* begins in both with the office of decurion held by Antonius Peculiaris at the colony of Aquincum. This provides an immediate indication of

[7] Equestrian status may be implied by the office of Aurelius Audentius. Fitz (1993) 2, 425, suggests that as a descendant of the family of Antonii, who had long controlled the collection of taxes in Illyricum, Titius Antonius Peculiaris will have been a knight, but see below, p. 277.

[8] Fishwick, Peculiaris (2000). I am indebted for discussion and advice to G. Di Vita-Evrard.

chronology given that Aquincum was elevated to the rank of *colonia* by Septimius Severus, as confirmed by its title *Septimia* in B. Whether this could reflect the fact that B was inscribed sooner after the promotion of the city than A, where the title is omitted, can hardly be said; as the analysis will make clear, there can be no question that B is the earlier of the two texts. A minor point to be noted in this connection is that, while the reading *Aq(uinci)* is certain in B, the corresponding expansion in A should surely be *Aquin(ci)*, not *Aq*[*uinci*] as given in the Corpus, where the ligatures are overlooked.

As stated explicitly in B (*item*), Antonius Peculiaris was also a decurion of the *municipium Singidunum*. The parallel formula in line 3 of A plainly invites the same expansion *m(unicipii)* [*Sin*]*g(iduni)* despite the fact that G is the only letter of the name to be preserved. A striking difference between the two texts, however, is that in A the letter P intervenes between *dec(urio) col(oniae) Aquin(ci)* and *dec(urio) m(unicipii)* [*Sin*]*g(iduni)*. Whatever its correct interpretation, the letter is ignored not only in the expanded version of the Corpus (above) and its index but also in Dessau's text of the same inscription, which simply repeats the version of the Corpus while omitting completions in conformity with its normal practice (*ILS* 7124). In fact the only occasion on which the P is otherwise noted seems to be in J. Fitz's version of A, which reads … *dec. col. Aqu.*, *p.*, *dec. m.* [—]*g.*, … .[9] Here *Aqu.* is an improvement on *Aq.* but still falls short of *Aquin.*, as read above. No expansion of *p.* is proposed but in contrast to the Corpus Fitz does at least recognize its occurrence in the text.

The remaining items of the inscription are uncontroversial. In B only the offices of decurion at Aquincum and Singidunum are mentioned before the text records that Peculiaris has donated some sort of *ornamentum forus* (sic) *republicae*. As the inscription was found at Aquincum, his generosity was presumably directed towards the colony. A more extensive *cursus* is set out in A, a circumstance that to all appearances assigns the text to a later period. In addition to the decuriate at two centres Peculiaris has listed his offices as *duumvir*, municipal *flamen* and provincial priest of Lower Pannonia before putting on record his own generosity again, this time in erecting a fountain with its water supply. Since A is also from Aquincum, the *nymphaeum* like the *ornamentum forus* must have been located at the colony. It follows that the career of C. Titius

[9] Fitz (1993) 2, 425.

Antonius Peculiaris is known from the records of two benefactions he made years apart, both at the colony of Aquincum.

In a recent analysis of the inscriptions of Peculiaris, Fitz has nevertheless concluded that the two texts refer not to the same C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris at an interval of several years but rather to two different individuals.[10] He argues that in B Peculiaris was plainly elected decurion at two centres in different provinces, Aquincum in Lower Pannonia and Singidunum in Upper Moesia, a distinction to be explained by the fact that he belonged to the family of Antonii, who had for generations controlled the collection of taxes in Illyricum.[11] We already know a C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris, again a member of the Antonii,[12] who on Fitz's view served as *conductor* before the reorganization of the *portorium* in the second half of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[13] As C. Titius C. *filius* Sergia (*tribu*) Antonius Peculiaris in B must be placed under Septimius Severus or later by virtue of his post as decurion at the colony of Aquincum, Fitz takes him to be the son of the Antonine C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris rather than the same individual as first suggested by A. Mócsy. In that case the son will in all probability have also been a tax contractor, a profession that would go far to explaining his posts as decurion at two widely separated centres in different provinces. An obvious comparison in this respect is with the career of the *conductor* T. Iulius Capito, who was accorded a whole range of honours by the local *ordo* of centres in different provinces: Poetovio, Sirmium, Ratiaria, Oescus, Sarmizegetusa, Romula, Tomi (*CIL* 3, 753 = 7429). But this interpretation excludes the possibility that the Titius Antonius Peculiaris of A can be the same person as in B. For one thing A records a municipal career that Fitz takes to have unfolded at the second centre recorded in line 3, our only clue to which survives in the letters M [-] G. This cannot be restored *M.* [*Sin*]*G*(*iduni*) as in B, he argues, since Peculiaris would never have been elected a provincial priest of Lower Pannonia had he held these offices at a municipium in Upper Moesia. A further objection to the identification with Singidunum is that its leading magistrates were *quattuorviri*, not *duumviri* as in A.[14] Furthermore Fitz suggests that there is insufficient

[10] *O.c.* 426–7.

[11] On the public *portorium* see Fitz (1993) 2, 392–401.

[12] *C(aius) Tit(ius) | Ant(onius) Pecu|liaris, co|nd(uctor) vect(igalis) oc|t(avae) Pann(oniarum) II | ann(o) (conductionis) XII* (*AE*, 1968, 423).

[13] Fitz (1993) 2, 425, 729–30 (no. 409); *id.* (1970).

[14] Fitz (1993) 2, 426, citing Mócsy (1970) 34.

room in the gap before G to restore [*Sin*]*g*. As only one or at the most two closely grouped letters can have stood there, he proposes that the *municipium* will have been Gorsium, in which case the text will have read *M.* [*U(lpii)*] / [*A(elii)*] *G(orsii)*.

None of these objections withstands closer examination. While it was certainly a most unusual occurrence, there are nevertheless two instances where it would appear that a resident of Hither Spain was elected provincial priest of Baetica.[15] But that is a side issue. Since Peculiaris cannot have been *duumvir* at Singidunum, as Mócsy has shown, the offices listed in the *cursus* recorded in A will surely have been served at Aquincum, the place close to where the stone was in fact found and the city to which Peculiaris made the gifts recorded in both A and B. In that case what A records is surely the fact that Peculiaris was decurion at Aquincum and Singidunum (as in B), then *duumvir* and *flamen* (apparently in that order) at Aquincum, a background that would qualify him pre-eminently for election to the high priesthood of Lower Pannonia. It is true that space is restricted in the lacuna before G in line 3 of A but, as the abbreviation of *Aquin(cum)* in the same line clearly demonstrates, SIN could be restored if I and N were combined by ligatures. There seems no reason therefore to doubt the restoration of the name [*Sin*]*g(idunum)* in A exactly as in B. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the enigmatic P. in line 3 of A, which we have seen to be ignored in the Corpus and Dessau and nowhere explained. As A is the later of the two texts, P may be a misreading by the *ordinator* of a contraction of *item* (*it.*) originally written in cursive,[16] in which case A line 3 will have repeated B lines 2–4 except for the omission of *Sept.* before *Aquin(cum)*: … *dec(urio)* | *col(oniae) Aquin(ci)* ⌜*it*⌝ *(em) dec(urio) m(unicipii)* [*Sin*]*g(iduni)* | … . As for the fact that Peculiaris is twice recorded as decurion at both Aquincum and Singidunum, Fitz's explanation by no means follows as there is nothing in either inscription to indicate he was a tax farmer by profession. Whether such a system was still in existence or the collection of taxes was by now in the hands of a financial procurator is in any case a moot question.[17]

---

[15] *CIL* 2, 3271, 3395. For discussion see above, p. 226.

[16] Kindly suggested by G. Di Vita-Evrard. For *it.* cf. *ILS* 1634, for example.

[17] If the reorganization of the *portorium* under Marcus Aurelius did not end the system of *conductores*, Mócsy could be right in taking *AE* (1968) 423 to refer to the same C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris as *CIL* 3, 10495–6; cf. Corbier (1985) 226–7, arguing likewise for identity. See in general Fitz (1993) 2, 392–401, especially 396ff.

If the above argument is correct, everything suggests that A and B do after all refer to one and the same person, C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris, who was elected decurion at both the colony of Aquincum in Lower Pannonia and the municipality of Singidunum in Upper Moesia, by no means an unusual happening in itself. It was apparently after donating an *ornamentum forus* (sic) at Aquincum (B) that he pursued a municipal career at Aquincum until his election as provincial priest with the title of *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)*. As he is not termed *sacerdotalis* in A, his donation of a water fountain with its water supply, again to his *patria*(?) of Aquincum, would appear to have taken place during tenure of this distinguished post.

iii. *The Priestly Title*

A single text (no. 2) gives the priestly formula in full, *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)*, but sufficient is preserved in one instance (no. 4) to show that the title will have read [*sacerdos*] *p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) in*[*f(erioris)*], while the title of Aurelius Audentius (no. 3) is shortened to *sacer(dotalis?) provinci(ae)*; all that survives of the title of [M. Ulpius] (no. 1) is *sacerd.*, which Mommsen reasonably completes [*pr(ovinciae) Pannoniae inf(erioris)*]. Meagre as the record is, it nevertheless makes clear that the cult was addressed to the living emperor and centred on an altar. Lower Pannonia compares in this respect with Upper Pannonia and Dacia, where the provincial cult is likewise recorded to have been addressed to the living emperor at a provincial altar.[18] Where precisely the provincial altar was located raises a whole range of problems which fall largely outside the scope of the present discussion.[19] For immediate purposes it is sufficient to note that the long-standing thesis of a provincial altar and temple of the Divi Augusti, allegedly located at Gorsium, no longer looks tenable.[20] In fact with nothing in Lower Pannonia to indicate the provincial cult of deified emperors, the existence of a provincial temple, which would necessarily presuppose their inclusion in the worship, looks an impossibility. As there is no longer any reason to link the provincial centre of Pannonia Inferior with Gorsium, the likeliest location for a provincial

[18] Pannonia Superior: *RIU* 71; *AE* (1983) 774. Dacia: *IDR* 3/2, 108, ?132, 217 (cf. *AE*, 1930, 8), 266; *CIL* 3, 1209; 125–7; Piso, Epigraphica (XI) (1980) 126–7.

[19] Vol. III, 3, 149–69; Fishwick, Gorsium (2000).

[20] For a summary of the debate see Alföldy (1997) 229–30.

altar would be Aquincum,[21] where chance has preserved the inscriptions of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris (no. 2). The more important of these is plainly A, which in recording his benefaction of a fountain with its water supply preserves critical evidence on the content of the provincial cult of Pannonia Inferior.

iv. *Chronology of the Provincial Priesthood*

None of the texts gives direct indication of even an approximate date though all must be subsequent to Trajan's division of the province *ca.* A.D. 106 (above). A tenuous clue is provided by the status of Aquincum, which became a *municipium* under Hadrian and was raised to the rank of *colonia* (*Septimia*) by Septimius Severus. This would plainly bear on the priesthoods of M. Ulp. and Titius Antonius Peculiaris (nos. 1 and 2). Furthermore, if colonies were more open to financial regulation by Rome than were municipalities, that might point to a late second/third century date for the priesthood of Aurelius Audentius (no. 3). Otherwise Titius Antonius Peculiaris is attested as priest at the altar of a single Augustus.

v. *Priests of Pannonia Inferior*

1. [M. Ulpius -]
Origin: Aquincum?
Find-Spot: Intercisa
Title: *sacerd.* [*pr. Pannoniae inf.*]
Municipal Career: [*d./IIvir?*] *m. Aq., d. col. Murs.*
Imperial Career: [*p.p. l*]*eg. XII fulm.*
Date: Hadrian-Septimius Severus
References: *CIL* 3, 10305

[21] So earlier Deininger (1965) 117, n. 9 with refs.

2. C. Tit. Antonius Peculiaris
Origin: Aquincum
Find-Spot: Aquincum
Title: *sacerdos arae Aug. n. p. P. infer.*
Municipal Career: *dec. col. Aquin.*, ⌜*it.*⌝ *dec. m.* ⌜*Sin*⌝*g.*, *IIvir*, *flam.*
Date: Septimius Severus/early third century
References: *CIL* 3, 10496, cf. 10495; Fishwick, Peculiaris (2000)

3. Aurel. Audentius
Find-Spot: Aquincum
Title: *sacer. provinci.*
Imperial Career: *c. r. p. Aqui.*
Date: late second/third century?
References: *CIL* 3, 3485

4. Ignotus
Origin: Cibalis
Find-Spot: Sopianae
Title: [*sacerdos*] *p. P. in*[*f.*]
Municipal Career: [*IIvir. c*]*ol. Cib*[*al.*]
References: *RIU* 979

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

MOESIA INFERIOR

No trace of a provincial priest has survived in Upper Moesia and in the lower province evidence is restricted to a mere couple of texts at Troesmis.[1] The earlier record (no. 1) is a funerary stele from the burial site of Tiberius Vitales, a veteran of the Legio V Macedonica, who on the completion *ex* [*b(ene)f(iciario)*] had been promoted to the rank of *principalis* and posted to special duties in the service of a superior officer—precisely who is not revealed:[2]

> [*Ti*]*b(erius) Vitales ex* | [*b(ene)f(iciario)*] *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae)* | [*sa*]*cerd(os/otalis)q(ue) provin*|[*c(iae)*] *vix(it) ann(os) LX viv*|[*o*] *se fecit reliq(uiarum)* | [*c*]*uragent(e) Tib(erio) Vi*|[*t*]*ale fil(io) et her(ede)* | *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.
>
> (*IScM* 5, 194)

According to his inscription, Vitales had set up the grave stone when still alive and his son and heir saw to the remains on his father's death at the age of sixty.[3] The interest of the record for present purposes is twofold. In the first place the deceased legionary is attested as *sacerd(os)* or rather perhaps *sacerd(otalis) provinciae*, given that Vitales had in all probability served his provincial office at a younger age than sixty.[4] While the title makes no explicit reference to the content of the cult, the term *sacerdos/sacerdotalis* certainly suggests that in Lower Moesia as elsewhere in the Danube provinces the worship will have focused on the living ruler to the exclusion of deceased, deified emperors. There is no explicit clue to the date of the text but everything points to a period before the mid A.D. 160's, when the legion was transferred to Potaissa, a circumstance of relevance to the uncertain location of the provincial centre. The second point is that Tiberius Vitales, like his son and namesake, lacks a *nomen gentile*. As there is no reason to doubt that

---

[1] For earlier discussion see Kornemann (1901) 131, 135–6; Deininger (1965) 120; Fitz (1985) 260–1; Nawotka (1987) 184–8. See further the numerous refs. in *IScM* 5, 194, 151.

[2] For analysis of the term see Domaszewski-Dobson (1967) s.v. *beneficiarii*, *principales*; *DE* 1 (1895) 992–6 (Kübler).

[3] Mrozewicz (1982) 81, proposing a date *ca.* A.D. 161.

[4] So Deininger (1965) 120, n. 1, followed by Fitz (1985) 261.

the text is genuine, we appear to have a second example of a provincial priest who was not a Roman citizen; cf. Albinus Albui *f.* in Lusitania (*AE*, 1946, 201). Presumably the same explanation, local shortage of Roman citizens, applies in both cases.

The other record (no. 2) is preserved on what is clearly a base from Troesmis that once supported a statue of Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22), whose relationship to the *domus imperatoria* has been deliberately defaced (lines 2–3: *Antonino*; line 4: *nepoti*; line 5. *fil.*). The text records that M. Ulpius Antipater, a provincial *sacerd(os)/sacerd(otalis)* with a Greek *cognomen*, served twice as *duumvir* and set up or dedicated the statue to mark his appointment as *pontifex*,[5] the rite having been performed by the provincial governor:

> *Imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) | Aurelio A[n]ṭọṇị|[n]o Pio fel(ici) Aug(usto) | Divi Severi ṇ[ep]ọṭị | Divi Antonini [f]ịl(io) dedi|cante T(ito) Fl(avio) Novio Rufo | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Antipater | sacerd(otalis) provin(ciae) et bis du|umvira(lis) ob hon(orem) pontif(icatus).*
>
> (*IScM* 5, 151, Pl. 71)

Some features of the text are self-evident, so can be quickly passed in review. The participation of T. Flavius Novius Rufus gives a more precise date during his governorship, A.D. 218–19?,[6] and the name Ulpius reveals that Antipater was descended from a family which had received citizenship under Trajan. The order of his posts in contrast is problematic. It is impossible to believe that Ulpius Antipater held the office of provincial *sacerdos* at the same time as that of *pontifex*: no provincial priest held municipal office contemporaneously. On the other hand a local career that culminated in two terms as *duumvir* would be exceedingly abnormal, not to say unprecedented, if it unfolded in its entirety after the provincial priesthood. We have seen that in Baetica M. Cassius Caecilianus looks to have held a local perpetual flaminate before serving as provincial *flamen*, whereas he was *flaminalis provin*[*ciae*] *Baeticae* when he set up four silver statues to the *genius* of Italica *ob honorem IIvir(atus)* (above, p. 231).[7] Conceivably, then, the provincial priesthood had likewise intervened in the municipal career of M. Ulpius Antipater, who after various lower municipal posts (not mentioned in his *cursus*) became provincial *sacerdos*. At all events the sequence of his posts suggests that he was *sacerd(otalis) provinciae* just as he was *bis duumvira(lis)* at

[5] Cf. *IDR* 3/2, 9 (Sarmizegetusa).
[6] Thomasson (1984) 1, col. 141, no. 116; 2, 50.
[7] Castillo (1998) 5.

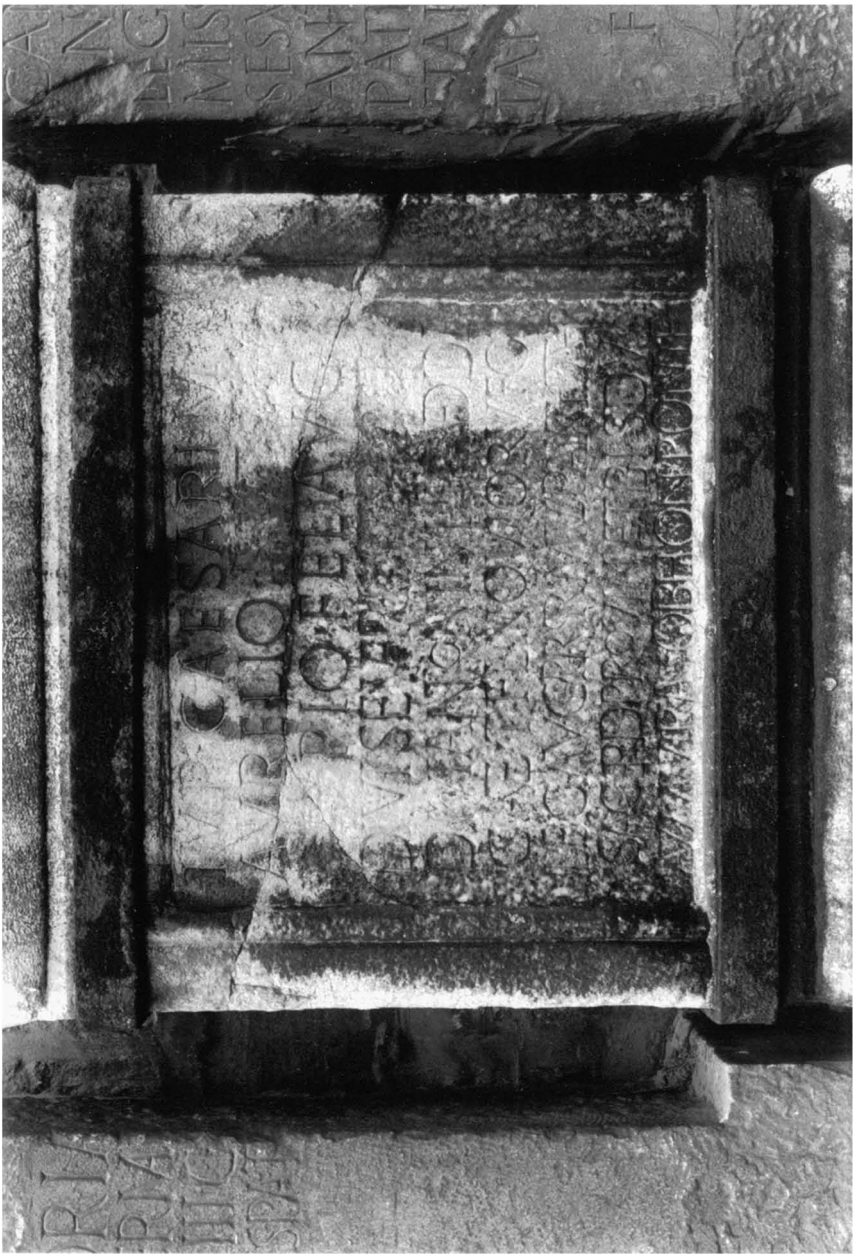


Plate 71. Dedication of statue of Elagabalus by M. Ulpius Antipater in celebration of his appointment as *pontifex*.

the time he set up the statue to Elagabalus *ob hon(orem) pontif(icatus)*; cf. *et*. In other words the two terms as *duumvir* followed by the local pontificate were served *after* the provincial priesthood.[8] On this interpretation, it becomes understandable that as past provincial priest Antipater could secure the services of the provincial governor, with whom he would certainly have been in contact during his year. On the other hand neither the private monument raised to Elagabalus by M. Ulpius Antipater *sacerd(otalis) provin(ciae)* nor the fact that the provincial governor performed the rite of dedication (doubtless assisted by Antipater)[9] adds any support to the claims of Troesmis to be the provincial centre.

i. *Priests of Moesia inferior*

1. [Ti]b. Vitales
Find-Spot: Troesmis
Title: [*sa*]*cerd. provin*[*c*].
Imperial Career: *ex* [*b.f.*], *vet. leg. V Mac.*
Date: *ca.* A.D. 160
References: *IScM* 5, 194

M. Ulp. Antipater
Origin: Troesmis?
Find-Spot: Troesmis
Title: *sacerd. provin.*
Municipal Career: *bis duumvira.*, *ob hon. pontif.*
Date: A.D. 218–19/220
References: *CIL* 3, 773 = 6170; *IScM* 5, 151 (Pl. 71)

[8] For two examples of a local priesthood served *after* the provincial priesthood see the cursus of P. Mummius Saturninus, who may have been offered (and refused) a municipal flaminate in his *patria* of Furnos Maius after the priesthood of Proconsularis (*CIL* 8, 12039), also of P. Iulius Liberalis, who was appointed *flamen perpetuus* at his *patria* of Thamugadi subsequently to his provincial *sacerdotium* (Gascou, 1979, 189–96: see above, p. 180). Cf., for example, the career of Porcia Materna (*RIT* 325), who served three local terms as *flaminica perpetuua* following her provincial office (above, p. 98).

[9] For similar ritual at Emerita, Castulo and Sarmizegetusa see Vol. III, 1, 166–7; above, pp. 215, 222–3, 258–60.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

DALMATIA

If its completions are correct, a single inscription at Zenica attests a *sacerd(oti/otali)* [*provi*]*nc(iae) De*[*l*]*ma*[*tiae*], who had previously served as *duumvir* at the Flavian *municipium* of Bistua.[1] There is no firm indication of date, though the provincial cult of Dalmatia could be Trajanic in orgin.[2] In contrast, traces of a priest at the *ara Aug(usti) Liburnorum* at Scardona and the *ara Caesaris* at Doclea are plainly to be ascribed to regional cults.[3]

i. *Priests of Dalmatia*

1. Ignotus
Find-Spot: Zenica
Title: *sacerd.* [*provi*]*nc. De*[*l*]*ma*[*tiae*]
Municipal Career: *IIv*[*iro munic. B*]*ist.*
References: *CIL* 3, 12766 + 12762

[1] Deininger (1965) 116; Wilkes (1969) 275.
[2] Vol. III, 1, 180–1.
[3] Fishwick (1978) 1234; cf. Vol. I, 2, 299, n. 34; 302 with nn. 14f.; Vol. III, 1, 148–9.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE PROVINCIAL PRIESTHOOD

The main features of the priesthood, its points of difference and similarity from province to province, emerge reasonably clearly, certainly with more precision than was possible forty years or so ago.[1] While gaps in the evidence persist to varying degrees in different regions of the west, enough data have by now accrued to allow a tentative reconstruction of how the institution developed from its origins down to the mid-third century and beyond. In the following synopsis it will be convenient to retain the same overall scheme as has been followed in the treatment of individual provinces.

i. *Sources*

Literary notices are restricted to Livy's report on the first priest at the altar by the Confluence (*Per.* 139), a reference in Pliny the Younger to the career of Voconius Romanus, priest of Hispania Citerior (*Ep.* 2, 13, 3ff.), and two passages in Augustine (*Ep.* 138, 4, 19) and Apuleius (*Flor.* 16, 72, 20) relating to the *sacerdotium* held by Apuleius of Madauros. These texts apart, evidence on the office is entirely epigraphical.[2] By far the most significant source is the record of past priests that has survived at the provincial sanctuaries of Tres Galliae and Hispania Citerior, or on either of the two main forums of Corduba, the capital of Baetica; almost half of our entire documentation originates from these centres. Testimony of this nature divides into two main categories. Foremost in importance are the monuments which the provincial council erected in honour of past incumbents—at the Tarraco enclave these are known to have been placed in a special location over which the city had granted jurisdiction to the province—but from time to time honorific statues were also dedicated by other donors, a priest's *civitas* or *patria*, his wife and relatives, even private individuals. Ocasionally too the priest is

[1] Deininger (1965) 148–56.

[2] For references to primary sources other than those cited see the analysis of individual provinces with lists of priests and priestesses.

mentioned in connection with an imperial statue or bust dedicated by the province. Elsewhere a broad sample of records originates from a priest's *patria* or where he finished his career. Such local traces divide again into two groups. In the first belong honorific dedications set up by the *ordo* or decurions of a local community, also by a priest's wife, his relatives, fellow-citizens, friends, an employee, his own or a relative's freedmen, the members of a college; to these can be added funerary texts inscribed by descendants or a bare mention is a list of veterans, for example. A very different category comprises texts for which the priest himself is responsible: dedications to a god in payment of a vow or for the welfare of the emperor or the priest himself, statues to the emperor, plaques inscribed in honour of a priest's wife or his near relatives, above all building inscriptions commemorating public works, the costs of which the priest himself has supported. As could be expected from the historical development of provincial cults, such sources are preserved from the Julio-Claudian down to the Severan period and later in the Gauls, the Spains and the provinces of North Africa, whereas in the Danube region priestly records start in the second century but for the most part relate to the third.

ii. *Provincial Statues*

Particular importance attaches to the statues which the provincial council set up to retiring priests at Lugdunum, Tarraco and Corduba; given the significance of these records, it is essential to note that testimony of this kind is restricted to the provinces of Tres Galliae, Hispania citerior, and Baetica. According to a clause of the Lex Narbonensis, the council might allow a priest, on successful completion of his term, to set up a statue of himself, its pedestal inscribed with his name, that of his father, his place of origin, and the year of his tenure (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 11–12). No such inscribed bases have been found in Narbonensis itself nor is there any echo of these provisions in local texts of the province, but closely similar regulations look to be followed in Baetica, where the provincial council set up three statues to provincial priests, one on the colonial forum of Corduba (*CIL* 2^2/7, 293) and two on its south plaza (*CIL* 2_2/7, 291, 295). The inscriptions on the bases conform closely to the Narbonese prescription in omitting the *cursus* but including a dating by consuls—whether of the priest's tenure or of the subsequent conferral of honours in unclear. A slight difference of emphasis in Baetica is that the council decreed honours including

a statue, for which the incumbent has nevertheless paid. These texts range from the mid-second to the early third century but a local text at Mellaria, dated under Trajan, includes a paraphrase of a similar formula (*CIL* 2^2/7, 799), so would seem to indicate that such regulations were followed from the very foundation of the provincial cult under Vespasian.

Analogous evidence in Hispania citerior and Tres Galliae compares very closely. At Tarraco statues to provincial priests were erected by the province, that is the provincial council, from the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Their surviving bases record much the same details but in contrast to the regulations in Narbonensis include the priest's tribe and *cursus*, usually in forward order, while omitting to date his tenure. Evidently there was no obligation to follow the guide-lines exactly in a province where the origins of the provincial cult go back to the Julio-Claudian era. Again at Lugdunum the inscribed bases of statues set up in the sanctuary of the Three Gauls give as a rule the priest's name, his patronymic, ethnic qualification, *cursus* and title. While this is consistently the practice from the time of Hadrian, two early texts of Flavian date are exceptional in dating the priest's tenure by consuls (*CIL* 13, 1675, 1713). Here too, then, it would appear that a regulation similar to that of the Lex Narbonensis was initially followed by the Three Gauls, then replaced by a modified version. No provincial records have survived in Proconsularis but local inscriptions seem in three instances to give parallel details in mentioning not only the priest's name and patronymic but also his tribe and year of tenure, dated by the *annus* of an era rather by consuls—a point on which the Lex Narbonensis does not insist (*CIL* 8, 14611; *ILAfr* 458+*AE*, 1964, 177; *CIL* 8, 12039). There appears every reason to believe, therefore, that similar regulations were laid down in a number of provinces, an inference confirmed by the evident application of other clauses of the Lex Narbonensis elsewhere (below, p. 303).

As for the statues themselves, it would appear that these regularly took the form of a life-size, togate *statua pedestris* in every province except Tres Galliae, which is unique in attesting for the most part collective monuments, a fashion imported from the Greek east. This type of memorial honours not only the priest himself but also members of his family, grouped together on a common base, and occurs locally as well as at the federal centre. Whereas the remains of such stylobates survive at Lugdunum and elsewhere, the figures they supported, like the individual statues of provincial priests in Hispania citerior and Baetica,

have totally disappeared except perhaps for part of a marble *protome* at Corduba (*CIL* 2^2/7, 295).

iii. *Priestly Title*

Two forms of title occur in the Latin west: *sacerdos* and *flamen*, each followed more often than not by a formula that gives the content of the worship. The earlier term *sacerdos* occurs at the altar by the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône and is attested in a regional cult at Ara Ubiorum, where the central monument looks to have been likewise an altar; elsewhere evidence has failed to survive. The usage is plainly to be explained by the circumstance that the worship was addressed to Roma, in origin a Greek divinity, and the living emperor, neither of whom have any connection with the cults served by the priesthoods of early Rome.[3] The title *flamen* in contrast appears in provinces where the worship was originally addressed to the deified emperor—that is, a deceased ruler raised to the rank of state god—and centred on a temple as in Hispania citerior and Lusitania. In other provinces it is the appropriate term where the cult was directed *ab initio* to the living ruler in combination with the deified dead, clearly the situation in Baetica and Sardinia but to all appearances also in Narbonensis, Proconsularis and the Alpine provinces; a provincial temple, it should be noted, is attested at Narbo Martius and appears a strong possibility at Corduba in Baetica. A similar development looks to be also true of the Mauretaniae, though here one can argue only from analogy. Of particular interest is that the term *sacerdos* continued in use in Tres Galliae even when the cult was extended under Hadrian to include deified deceased rulers, while in Hispania citerior and Lusitania the term *flamen* was naturally retained following enlargement of the worship under the Flavians to include the living emperor and (in Hispania citerior at least) Roma. In Proconsularis in contrast, *flamen* was replaced by *sacerdos* under Trajan, a precedent later followed in Sardinia, though in neither province does the change seem related to the nature of the cult; the greater prestige attached to the less common title *sacerdos* looks the likelier explanation here. When provincial cults were established in the Danube region, on the other hand, the provincial priest was appropriately termed *sacerdos* once again in keeping with the evident circumstance that in Dacia, the

[3] Vol. I, 1, 165–7.

two provinces of Pannonia, and Lower Moesia (no evidence has survived from Upper Moesia) the cult focussed on the living emperor at an altar, now without inclusion of the goddess Roma. The later addition of the epithet *coronatus* to the priestly title in Dacia is patently attributable to the impact of oriental cults in the region.

As is clear from examples in Hispania citerior and Baetica (*RIT* 259; *CIL* 2, 5124; *CIL* 2^2/7, 294b), a priest in these provinces was called *designatus* following his election but before he assumed office. That the term implies the premature death of the priest elect is confirmed in at least one case by its occurrence in a funerary text (*CIL* 2^2/7, 294); at all events an interval must have ocurred between election and entry on office in both provinces. Absence of evidence precludes similar inference elsewhere, though analogy certainly points in this direction. In contrast, once a provincial priest had completed his year, his title is variously recorded. In Tres Galliae he appears as *sacerdos* in local texts at Mediolanum and elsewhere, also in the rare cases where the provincial council has erected an honorific statue to an ex-priest in his *civitas* (*CIL* 13, 1049, 1463, 3162), a practice paralleled only at Thamugadi in Proconsularis (*CIL* 8, 17899). The more appropriate term *sacerdotalis* is not attested in the Three Gauls but is frequent enough elsewhere, notably in Proconsularis, Sardinia, Dacia, the two Pannoniae and Lower Moesia. Its counterpart *flaminalis*, on the other hand, is extremely rare at the provincial level outside of three examples in Baetica (*CILA* 2/2, 343; *ERBC* 113; *CIL* 2^2/7, 297), occurring only indirectly in Hispania Citerior, where the archivist C. Valerius Arabinus was given a statue *inter flaminales viros* (*RIT* 333). It remains to add that in some instances it is difficult to tell whether a priesthood is provincial or local. This is particularly the case when an appointee is recorded simply as *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* in Tres Galliae or *sacerdotalis* in the Danube provinces. The prestige attached to provincial office nevertheless suggests that a reference to the province would have been included where appropriate, so its absence points in all probability to local, municipal status rather than provincial.

iv. *Qualifications*

A clause of the Lex Narbonensis, tabled under the rubric *si flamen in civitate esse desierit*, lays down regulations for appointing a successor if the incumbent ceases to possess Roman citizenship (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 17–21). The plain implication that citizenship was normally a prerequisite

for office is confirmed by the *tria nomina* of practically all incumbents in the Latin west; epigraphical records usually add the priest's filiation and Roman tribe except that in Tres Galliae the filiation generally repeats the *gentilicium* and *cognomen* of the father, as a rule with his *praenomen*, and the tribe is replaced by an ethnic qualification. Two apparent anomalies call for notice. In Lusitania the provincial *flamen* Albinus, son of Albuus (*AE*, 1997, 777b), appears not to be a Roman citizen—at least if he was, one would have expected some indication of his status—and a similar example occurs in Lower Moesia, where Tiberius Vitales lacks the *nomen gentile* (*IScM* 5, 194). Shortage of Roman citizens looks the likeliest explanation in either case. Other preconditions must have been much the same as for tenure of any office: good character, solidarity with the Roman cause,[4] and a minimum age presumably of at least twenty-five years. One priest of Tres Galliae is nevertheless recorded to have served at the age of twenty-two (*CIL* 13, 1699–1700; *AE*, 1980, 635a) and Raecius Gallus must have been priest of Hispania citerior about the age of twenty-five (*RIT* 145), but most look to have been considerably older. On the analysis of G. Alföldy the priests of Hither Spain held office for the most part between the ages of forty and fifty, Memmius Barbarus having served about the age of fifty-five (*CIL* 2, 2638).[5] To these qualifications can be added an obvious residential requirement. Almost invariably priests were drawn from the province to which they belonged, the only exceptions being a couple of instances in Baetica, where priests originated for Acci and Castulo in the *conventus Carthaginiensis* of Hispania Citerior, two centres which had earlier belonged to Further Spain (*CIL* 2, 3395; *CILA* 3/1, 92).

An essential requirement, in practice the most important qualification of all, was that the priest should be of sufficient means. Provincial office involved heavy outlays in connection with the rites that ran in calendered order through the year and above all the games which the incumbent was expected to stage on conclusion of the annual meeting of the *concilium*. Examples of opulent extravagance in providing spectacles occur in Tres Galliae, Baetica and Africa Proconsularis. Equally burdensome must have been the funding of public works such as the first amphitheatre at the federal centre by Lugdunum, the costs

[4] It is worth noting that the Cadurcan, M. Lucterius Leo, priest of the Three Gauls under Hadrian (*ILTG* 223), looks to have been a descendant of the Lucterius who in 52–50 B.C. fought with Vercingetorix against Caesar. See *RE* 26 (1927) 1696–7 (Münzer).

[5] Alföldy (1973) 44–5.

of which were supported by C. Iulius Rufus and his cousin(?), as an inscription records (*ILTG* 217). Similarly at Tarraco a recent text from above an entrance to the amphitheatre suggests that a provincial priest was responsible for construction (*AE*, 1990, 653). Towards the end of the second century the council of Hither Spain even set up a statue to the son of a provincial priest in recognition of his father's extraordinary, if unspecified, liberality (*RIT* 285). A pertinent question in this context is whether provincial priests paid for their own statues. This is certainly the implication of the relevant clause of the Lex Narbonensis and three texts at Baetica state explicitly that the priest (in one case his father) has borne the expense of the statue voted among other honours by the provincial council. At the enclave of the Three Gauls it seems a reasonable conjecture that, if a priest was free to place representations of his wife and near relatives on the stylobate of his monument, he must have paid in part, if not in whole, for these memorials himself. The texts nevertheless attest that the Three Gauls have dedicated the monument and the same is true of the numerous bases preserved at Tarraco, which regularly conclude with the formula P.H.C. So whether the priest himself contributed must remain uncertain. In any event there can be no doubt that the priesthood was the preserve of an affluent elite.

v. *Origin and Social Background*

Priests were appointed almost invariably from the province in which they served; two half-exceptions in Baetica have already been noted. Within a province the legal status of a priest's *patria—colonia* or *municipium*, of Roman or Latin rights—played no apparent role in his election though all cities that produced an appointee were juridically privileged. This is true of Proconsularis, for example, where groups of priests drawn from one particular area at roughly the same time point to intercity rivalry. Evidently it was an advantage to originate from the provincial capital—as a rule the site of the provincial centre—where residence will have provided an opportunity for contact with the Roman authorities. In Baetica, for instance, a provincial priest from Malaca had been adopted into the colony of Corduba, a step that must have improved his chances of election (*AAC* 7, 1996, 251–64). Only in Dacia does the evidence fail to support this inference, though this could be attributable to the accident of survival. In Tres Galliae the record is too scattered to allow generalizations but it is striking that the surviving evidence attests very few priests from Belgica, the great majority being divided about

equally between Aquitania and Lugdunensis. Where testimony is more plentiful, a definite pattern of origins can be discerned. In Hither Spain in particular, priests came from each of the seven *conventus*, notably *Tarraconensis* with its provincial capital, though most conventual capitals produced their share of incumbents. On the other hand, early *flamines* were drawn from the flourishing cities of the coast and only later from inland and the north-west. Much the same picture looks to be true of Lusitania also, whereas in Baetica it was the rich hinterland, especially the valley of the Baetis and its environs, that provided the earliest priests. In contrast the fact that later priests of Hispania citerior come from less wealthy regions, located further from the provincial capital, suggests a gradual cheapening of the provincial priesthood. Elsewhere this loss of interest in office-holding is not observable, certainly not in Tres Galliae as the *sacerdotium* of T. Sennius Sollemnis *ca.* A.D. 220 shows (*ILTG* 341), but in general the evidence in other provinces is too thin to allow firm conclusions. In Narbonensis, for instance, it must be sheer chance that four of the eight provincial priests are natives of Nemausus.

Alongside personal merit, affinity with a distinguished, well-to-do family was a key ingredient in the background of provincial priests. An outstanding example here is Voconius Romanus, whose family background Pliny praises. If the wealth of some of these families was based on landed property, other had made money in the oil trade, for example; Apuleius of Madauros in contrast managed to marry a rich widow. Just as priests were drawn in Tres Galliae from the upper and middle classes of Gallic society and firmly rooted in their *civitas*, to which they sometimes made benefactions, so in Hither Spain, Baetica, Narbonensis, doubtless also in Lusitania and other provinces incumbents were largely recruited from the Romanized elite in local towns and constituted a homogeneous, privileged class that stood immediately below those of upper equestrian and senatorial rank. Prosopographical studies in Baetica and Hither Spain reveal ties of kinship with other distinguished families of the province, a network of relatives whose support and financial resources must have helped in furthering the candidacies of aspirants to the high priesthood, and similar studies may yet reveal a comparable picture in other provinces. The best hopes of further social advancement, on the other hand, look to have rested with a priest's descendants (cf. *ERBC* 113 with *CIL* 2, 1024).

vi. *Prior Career*

Our knowledge of the earlier careers and experience of provincial priests derives from the memorials that were set up in their honour whether at provincial centres or locally. An obvious disadvantage of these sources is that provincial monuments were usually erected at the close of a priest's term, so can hardly include any post he might have held later; local texts set up after an interval or on a priest's death are more helpful in this respect. A different problem arises with regard to a priest's career before provincial office in that tenure of the provincial priesthood is often recorded without details of the earlier *cursus*, a circumstance often attributable to the nature of the monument. Even so sufficient data are preserved to allow a generalized, composite picture of the prior careers of provincial priests in the Latin west.

By far the largest category is marked by a full roster of municipal posts served as a rule before the crowning honour of the provincial priesthood; in many instances the formula *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus*, a stereotype common from the Hadrianic period onwards, summarizes the *cursus*. This career pattern is the most frequent not only in Hispania citerior, where our records are fullest, but also in Tres Galliae, Lusitania, Proconsularis, Sardinia, Baetica, the Alpine provinces, Dacia and the twin provinces of Panonnia and Moesia; in the Danube region, it may be noted, the umbrella formula is strikingly absent. In Hither Spain Alföldy has disinguished three other types of career, all of which are attested more extensively in that province than elsewhere.[6] The first of these is entirely equestrian. Here it should be noted that equestrian status is often enough recorded without actual tenure of equestrian posts, as in Proconsularis and Mauretania Caesariensis, for instance, while sometimes equestrian status is not directly attested but may be inferred from the nature of the post; cf. the office of *curator* of Aquincum served by a priest of Lower Panonnia (*CIL* 3, 3455). Outside of Hispania citerior there are perhaps three instances in Tres Galliae of an entirely equestrian *cursus* prior to the federal priesthood, two in Baetica, and at least one in Lusitania, Narbonensis and Proconsularis. The most interesting province in this respect is Narbonensis, where out of eight known priests five were equestrians before election to provincial office and in three cases had held religious posts at Rome reserved for

[6] Alföldy (1973) 28–43.

knights, two of them before commencement of a municipal career; at least three of these had a mixed municipal and equestrian career. Similarly in Dacia perhaps seven priests are of equestrian rank, recorded more often before than after municipal office, with two instances of a mixed municipal and equestrian cursus. This combination, again best exampled in Hither Spain, is also attested at least twice in Lusitania, twice in Proconsularis, and once in Baetica and Upper Pannonia. Lastly, there is the career pattern in which municipal posts culminated in service on the five jury panels or at least in inclusion on the list from which jurors were selected. Like Hispania citerior, where most cases are attested, Narbonensis, Proconsularis, Sardinia and Upper Panonnia have produced traces of this type of *cursus*, which conversely is absent in Tres Galliae, Lusitania, Baetica and Dacia.

Other points of interest that call for notice include the frequent record of a local *sacerdotium* or *flamonium*, often perpetual, not that prior tenure of this post was obligatory or that *legati* were necessarily chosen from *flamines perpetui*. This phenomenon is particularly common in Proconsularis, Baetica and Lower Pannonia, but occurs also in Sardinia, where a priest at Bosa had been *sacerdos Urbis Romae* (*CIL* 10, 7940). Equally of note, the office of *decurio* in his *patria* is mentioned in every record of the provincial priests of Upper Pannonia; in two instances a priest was *decurio* at two centres and multiple appointments of this kind are also attested in Lower Pannonia and Dacia. Occasionally, too, military service is documented before the municipal career as in Lower Moesia (*IScM* 5, 194). Particularly striking is that in the Maritime Alps two of our four recorded incumbents may have combined the provincial priesthood with the post of provincial patron (*ILGN* 3; *AE*, 1924, 61; *CIL* 5, 7917), whereas a *flamen* of Hither Spain was provincial patron following his priesthood (*RIT* 284). More surprising still, the priesthood of the province could even be served in the course of a municipal career as in Baetica (*CILA* 2/2, 343) and Lower Moesia (*IScM* 5, 151). Quite clearly, then, there was no strictly defined succession of offices that was a prerequisite for tenure of the provincial priesthood—Apuleius of Madauros, if he was in fact a priest of Proconsularis, appears to have had no previous administrative experience whatsoever. What is certain is that provincial priests were drawn from the municipal upper crust or the lower ranks of the equestrian order. Higher equestrians or members of the senatorial order played no role in the history of the provincial priesthood.

vii. *Office and Duties*

The provincial *concilium* was composed of *legati*, who represented individual cities or *civitates*. The number of delegates from each is not known but some sort of proportional representation based on the importance of a community and its population has been suggested as a possibility. That a *civitas* in Tres Galliae could send more than one delegate is at all events clear from the seats reserved for *legati* at the federal amphitheatre,[7] above all from the great inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnis at Vieux (*CIL* 13, 3162: III, 22–3). What little information we have on the activities of *legati* is best exemplified by the way this delegate of the Viducasses to the council of the Three Gauls defended the Roman governor in line with the sentiments of his *civitas*.

The council elected the provincial priest from among its members, to all appearances independently of the provincial governor, though the possibility cannot be excluded that he brought influence to bear from behind the scenes on occasion. The election itself evidently took place in August in Tres Galliae and at roughly the same time, July-August, in Baetica. Whether this schedule was followed in other provinces is unknown but in Hispania citerior and Baetica, if not elsewhere, the high priest elect was termed *designatus* (above, p. 96, 224) until he took up office, probably on January 1st in Baetica. He then served for one year as confirmed by the fact that the priesthood is dated by the year of an era in Proconsularis[8] and could be used eponymously in Baetica and Dacia (*CIL* 2^2/7, 255, 259; *IDR* 3/2, 79). In Narbonensis and other provinces where similar regulations were in force the provincial priest will have been an honorary member of the local *ordo* of the capital city, seat of the provincial council, during his tenure. Once in office the priest's secular duties were to guide and preside over the assembly, which acted on behalf of the province and evidently met in the *curia* as perhaps at Lugdunum, probably too at Tarraco, where seats with the names of participants survive at the provincial centre (*RIT* 250–1). Such business is well in evidence at Lugdunum and elsewhere thanks to records of the numerous activities of the council: relations with the emperor, embassies and the like. In Proconsularis, for example, four almost identical epigraphical texts preserved at different centres express gratitude for the decision of the Roman senate in condemning some

[7] For further discussion see below, Vol. III, 3, 120–2.
[8] Vol. III, 1, 128–30.

provincial governor following complaints by the provincial council. Notable examples of leadership given by the provincial priest himself include the inferred contribution of C. Sempronius Speratus in heading the process against Caecilius Classicus, governor of Baetica.

On the religious side the duties of the provincial priest were in the first place to perform the ceremonies of the provincial cult in line with an evolving calendar, a task which means he must necessarily have been in residence throughout the year.[9] The only exceptions to this may have ocurred in the Tres Galliae, where the council occasionally set up a monument to a priest locally in his *civitas*, likewise in Proconsularis: it is difficult to think that this procedure could have taken place in the absence of the provincial priest, the chairman of the council. The costs of rites are generally taken to have been supported by the priest himself, but his principal financial obligation was to fund the spectacles that concluded the annual assembly of the council. As is clear from the echoes that have come down in the sources, this was a heavy liturgy. The key example is the astonishing extravagance of the gladiatorial games exhibited on four days at Lugdunum by T. Sennius Sollemnis *ca.* A.D. 220 (*ILTG* 341). Similarly Apuleius is reported by Augustine to have given lavish shows as provincial priest of Africa Proconsularis (*Ep.* 138, 4, 19), while in Baetica L. Iunius Paulinus not only put on gladiatorial games preceded by two elimination bouts but set up statues to the value of HS 400,000, marking their dedication with races in the circus (*CIL* 2^2/7, 221). At the close of his year, so the Lex Narbonensis appears to state, the priest was required to present his accounts, in which case he must have been in charge of the outlays from provincial funds that are directly attested in Tres Galliae and reflected in Lusitania. Provided the provincial governor agreed(?), he could expend any surplus on statues and images of the emperor—evidently for cultic purposes: in other words to be exposed and carried in procession (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 25–30). Lastly, with the approval of the council he received the right on completion of his year to put up a statue to himself, suitably inscribed with his name and other details. Whether a priest could serve a second term in all provinces is unclear but repeated tenure of the priesthood is certainly attested in Hispania citerior (*AE*, 1908, 149) and Narbonensis (*ILGN* 634), perhaps also in Tres Galliae (*CIL* 13, 1716).

[9] Nothing supports the notion of Le Roux (1994) 404, that the provincial priest organized the religious observances of festivals in honour of the emperor supposedly celebrated in whatever city the provincial governor was momentarily domiciled.

viii. *Later Career*

Given the fact that so many of our records were inscribed immediately following tenure of the provincial priesthood (above), it is hardly surprising that evidence on the subsequent careers of provincial priests is very limited. Some points are nevertheless clear. The Lex Narbonensis lays down that the past priest shall remain a member of the provincial council and return to his place on the *ordo* of his *patria*, where to judge from the fourth-century album of Thamugadi he will have been inscribed as a past priest, so have enjoyed a more exalted status than before provincial office; on both bodies he has the right to give his opinion and to vote. In addition he can attend the public show in the province and wear his vestments both on these occasions and on the days when he offered sacrifice as provincial flamen (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 11–16). These privileges must have applied in every other province where regulations similar to those of the Narbonese law were in operation, apparently therefore in Tres Galliae, Hispania citerior, Lusitania, Proconsularis and Baetica. Two further echoes of the same regulations appear to occur in Sardinia. An inscription at Cornus attests that, with the consent of the province, a past priest of Sardinia has been "adlected" by the *ordo* of Carales, the provincial capital and seat of the provincial council (*CIL* 10, 7917), and a parallel example of the same procedure looks to be attested by a fragmentary text at Bosa in which reference to the province is missing but possibly to be supplied (*CIL* 10, 7940). By the terms of regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis a provincial priest of Sardinia will have been a member of the *ordo* of Carales, so these texts seem to indicate that the temporary privileges a priest had enjoyed during his year have now been put on a permanent basis. A similar example may occur at the provincial enclave of Hispania citerior, where notice of a muncipal decree of honours is appended to the text inscribed on the base of an honorific statue which the provincial council set up to a past priest (*RIT* 316). If this refers likewise to "adlection" by the *ordo* of Tarraco, all three texts would obliquely reflect a clause of the Lex Narbonensis.

Beyond these direct consequences of provincial office, what little can be gleaned of the further careers of ex-priests divides into two main categories. In the first place come subsequent posts at the municipal level. While the provincial priesthood plainly capped a municipal, municipal-equestrian or equestrian career as a rule, there seem to be two instances where the office intervened *in the course of* a municipal career, though

not necessarily at a set point in the *cursus*. In Baetica M. Cassius Caecilianus was patently past priest of Baetica (*flaminalis*) when he set up four silver statues to the *genius* of the colony of Italica *ob honorem IIviratus* (*CILA* 2/2, 343; *ERI* 22bis). Similarly at Troesmis in Lower Moesia M. Ulpius Antipater looks to have served the lower offices of the municipal *cursus* (omitted in the text) before the provincial priesthood, a post followed by two terms as *duumvir* and the municipal pontificate; the latter office he marked by raising a statue to Elagabalus, the rite of dedication being performed by the provincial governor (*IScM* 5, 151). The outstanding example of a subsequent municipal career that unfolded elsewhere than in a priest's *patria* is, of course, the dazzling succession of offices held by Q. Trebellius Rufus at Athens, possibly following imperial service in the aftermath of serving the first flaminate of Gallia Narbonensis (*IG* 2^2, 4192a–b).

While in these exceptional cases a succession of higher municipal posts came after the provincial priesthood, in other instances a single local or regional priesthood is recorded in the later *cursus*. Thus Q. Gabinius Receptus served as *pontifex* for the performance of public sacrifices at Carales after serving as provincial *flamen* (*CIL* 10, 7599 = *ILS* 6763 + Sotgiu, 1988, C25). In Proconsularis P. Iulius Liberalis held a perpetual flaminate in his *patria* of Thamugadi after his provincial *sacerdotium*, which itself followed a full municipal career at Thysdrus (*CIL* 8, 2343), while at Furnos Maius P. Mummius Saturninus evidently refused a local flaminate in his *patria*, to all appearances after the provincial priesthood (*CIL* 8, 12039). Again at Asturica in Hither Spain L.(?) Pompeius Faventinus served as *sacerdos Urbis Romae*, a distinguished local office, plainly following his provincial priesthood,[10] whereas Memmius Barbarus looks to have held the priesthood of Roma and Augustus in the *conventus* of Lucus Augusti subsequently to his flaminate of Hither Spain (*CIL* 2, 2638). In the same way priestesses of Hither Spain sometimes held later municipal office, notably Porcia Materna, who served at three different centres in Hither Spain (*RIT* 235), perhaps also Domitia Proculina, first and perpetual priestess of the municipality of Caesarobriga in Lusitania (*CIL* 2, 895). Among further examples of a single office recorded after the provincial priesthood may be noted the office of decurion at Napoca in Dacia (*Potaissa* 2, 1980, 125–7: this would be consistent with the regulation in the Lex Narbonen-

[10] Vol. I, 2, 353–60.

sis), possibly the post of municipal patron held at the *civitas Ossonobensis* in Lusitania (*IRCP* 7), conceivably also the concluding function in the *cursus* of the unknown priest of Baetica at Castulo in Hither Spain (*CILA* 3/1, 92). In Narbonensis as many as three past priests may have been patrons of a community (*CIL* 12, 3212, 3275, 3184) and one past priest patron of the *severi Augustales corporati* (*CIL* 12, 3213), while in Proconsularis P. Iulius Liberalis was evidently patron of Verecunda (*CIL* 8, 4352) after holding the perpetual flaminate at his *patria* of Thamugadi—both subsequently to his provincial priesthood of Proconsularis. It would appear from these examples, then, that a local or regional priesthood or other high office was the highest honour ones's compatriots or fellow countrymen could offer a distinguished local citizen.

In itself the priesthood of the province was neither a springboard to higher office nor an impediment to further postings, but the following appointments are of interest. An inscription at Tarraco records that a priest of Hither Spain served as provincial patron following his flaminate (*RIT* 284). In contrast to the practice of Hispania citerior, the *flamonium* of Narbonensis looks in two controversial cases to have been served *before* the *militiae equestres* (*CIL* 12, 3183–4). That the same sequence could be followed in Tres Galliae is clear from the case of T. Sennius Sollemnis, who provides a virtual exception to the rule elsewhere in that he was apparently appointed to a *militia equestris* subequently to his provincial priesthood though no vacancy occurred to allow him to take up the post. Again in Narbonensis the priesthood of the province could be followed by curatorship of a colony. Thus M. Cominius Aemilianus subsequently served as *curator* of Aquae-Sextiae (*CIL* 12, 3212) and Q. Soillius Valerianus was even *curator* of three centres simultaneously, Cabellio, Avennio and Forum Iulii (*CIL* 12, 3275). Similarly in Lower Pannonia the provincial priest Aurelius Audentius is attested as subsequently *curator* of the *respublica* of Aquincum, normally an equestrian post, though no indication of equestrian status is given in his text (*CIL* 3, 3485). As for higher appointments, Q. Trebellius Rufus, the first priest of Gallia Narbonensis, may have served at the equestrian level before retiring from imperial service and migrating to Athens (*AE*, 1947, 69: lines 39–40). That such equestrian posts as a lower procuratorship were not unattainable looks a possible inference from the inscription of M. Helvius Melior Placentius Sabinianus Samunianus in Proconsularis, though the reference to his two terms as *procurator* following the provincial priesthood depends on

Merlin's reading [*p*]*ro*[*c*.] *Aug. bis.* (*CIL* 8, 16472 + *ILTun* 1647). Again in A.D. 238, some eighteen years after his provincial priesthood, T. Sennius Sollemnis is attested in Tres Galliae as *iudex arcae ferrarium*—more likely an imperial post concerned with administration of the provincial iron mines than an office of the federal council (*CIL* 13, 3612: I, l. 25).

What does seem normally excluded is advancement to the *amplissimus ordo*, a step attested only in the very unusual case of Raecius Gallus, who was admitted into the senatorial order under Vespasian and served successively as *quaestor* in Baetica, *tribunus plebis*, *praetor* and *sodalis Augustalis* (*RIT* 145). This unique career, it should be noted, occurs at the very beginning of the era in Hither Spain for which we have documentation. In contrast, the unsuccessful attempt of Pliny to secure the admission of Voconius Romanus to the senate and secure him a position in a province is an example of private patronage (*Ep.* 2, 13, 3ff.), so falls outside the category of careers under discussion. In practice, then, these exceptions prove the rule that advancement to high society in Rome was an impossible goal for past provincial priests. The verdict stands that in the vast majority of cases the provincial priesthood was the summit of a man's career.

ix. *The Provincial Priestess*

Whereas no female equivalent is attested in provinces where the provincial priest is styled *sacerdos*, the office of *flaminica* is recorded in Hither Spain and Lusitania, which have produced eleven and six priestesses respectively, and isolated traces occur in Narbonensis, Baetica and the Mauretanian provinces. As the provincial priest was termed *flamen* in all of these, it follows that this must also have been the title in Mauretania Tingitana, which has produced two *flaminicae* but no *flamen*. In Narbonensis a *flaminica* is attested independently, yet the Lex Narbonensis, the key document on the provincial priesthood, refers only to the *uxor flaminis* (*CIL* 12, 6038: line 6, restored but secure). The obvious inference that the provincial priestess was not necessarily the wife of the *flamen provinciae* looks confirmed in Hither Spain, where two provincial *flaminicae* appear not to have been married to the high priest, not at least at the time he held office (*RIT* 322, 237). In practice, however, there can be no doubt that the *flaminica* was usually the wife of the *flamen*, who in several cases has raised a monument to her. At the Tarraco centre in particular the marital status of seven priestesses is explicitly stated.

As a rule, the title of the provincial priestess is recorded simply as *flaminica* followed by the name of the province, but one text in Baetica is unique in confirming that she tended the cult of deified females (*AE*, 1966, 183).[11] The post cannot have existed anywhere, therefore, before the consecration of Livia, and looks more appropriate to a time when several females had been accorded deification; significantly two priestesses in Lusitania have Flavian names (*CIL* 2, 895; *IRCP* 183). Whether the privileges of the *flaminica* corresponded to those of the *uxor flaminis* in the Lex Narbonensis is unknown but a poem inscribed on a stone from Caesarea records that the provincial council, here called *patres*, have accorded the golden fillet and crown to Rubria Festa, priestess of Mauretania Caesariensis (*AE*, 1995, 1793). That the *flaminica* was nevertheless of lower status than the *flamen* looks clear from the fact that the small number of honorific inscriptions to a provincial priestess were more often set up privately by fellow citizens or her husband, the provincial *flamen*, than by the provincial *concilium*. As for social background and origin, *flaminicae* were drawn in the same way as provincial priests from leading affluent families in Hispania citerior, Lusitania and the Mauretaniae and similarly originated from the more flourishing centres of a province. The circumstance that in Hither Spain a provincial priestess could marry a provincial priest from another *conventus* speaks eloquently for the ties that bound the provincial establishment. A priestess had no hope of a full career but several are recorded to have served locally either before or after provincial office, occasionally in more than one municipality (*RIT* 322, 325; *IRCP* 183). That a second term as provincial priestess was possible must remain uncertain as the only text that might attest this, a record at Ebora in Lusitania, is of doubtful reading (*AE*, 1967–70, 214).

x. *Administrative Officials*

The existence of "civil servants" at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum is attested by records of functionaries with such titles as *iudex arcae Galliarum*, *allectus arcae Galliarum*, *inquisitor Galliarum*; in line with their lower standing, the monuments by which they were honoured are single statues in contrast to the group statues of past federal priests. Apparently

[11] See in general Hertz (1992) 101, 106, 112–15 (select list of municipal priestesses).

of Flavian origin, these officials had a background in business or trade and their duties were plainly linked with the *stips annua*, an annual contribution first attested under Vespasian and presumably paid by the *civitates* into a federal fund; a correspondence with the provincial *pecunia* mentioned in the Lex Narbonensis looks very possible (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 25–30). Whatever their precise scope, these offices were clearly related to the federal *arca*, which as the term *Galliarum* suggests was a treasury not of the council but rather of the collectivity it represented. In that case it must have been effectively supervised by the provincial governor, just as the disposal of surplus funds by the retiring priest of Gallia Narbonensis seems to have been at the discretion of the provincial governor (*ibid.* line 27). Conceivably the *inquisitor Galliarum* acted as a sort of comptroller, auditing and certifying the accounts of the *arca Galliarum*. At all events it looks clear that in Gallia Narbonensis the provincial priest had to have his accounts audited on his retirement (lines 28–9). There is also a solitary trace of a *tabularius Galliarum*, a federal archivist named Firmanus, who doubtless kept the books of the council and recorded data of various kinds (*CIL* 13, 1725). In contrast the post of *iudex arcae ferrariarum Galliarum* held by T. Sennius Sollemnis (above, p. 55) is more probably an imperial than a federal post; certainly the administration of mines is nowhere else attested as a responsibility of a provincial council.

The circumstance that such functionaries occur only at Lugdunum must be directly ascribable to the federal nature of the council and sanctuary of Tres Galliae. Elsewhere traces of a *tabularius* or *arcarius* in Hither Spain (*RIT* Index 5b) plainly refer to employees of the imperial administration just as Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Lusitania had their own provincial book-keeper (*CIL* 2, 3235, 485–6). A link with the activities of the council at Tarraco seems nevertheless implied by the fact that a statue to the archivist C. Valerius Arabinus was placed among those of past provincial priests on the central terrace of the provincial sanctuary, plainly in recognition of his services to the council (*RIT* 333). No doubt the book-keeper of Lusitania will have likewise serviced the council of the province. Otherwise it would appear that in Hither Spain in particular tasks were assigned to chosen individuals, who were specially appointed by the council to gild statues of the emperor, for example, or to act as *curator* of the "Temple of Augustus" (*RIT* 294, 264). Beyond these examples the epigraphical record preserves no further trace of functionaries in the service of a province but it is worth noting that freedmen of a

province, who will therefore have originally been in the service of a *concilium*, are recorded in a number of provinces[12] as also are provincial patrons.[13]

[12] Tres Galliae: *CIL* 6, 29687; 14, 326–8; Hispania citerior: *AE*, 1919, 25; Baetica: *CIL* 2^2/7, 300–1; Pannonia Superior: *Annales Sabarienses* 3, 1927–29, 99.

[13] For provincial patrons see Deininger (1965) 169. As noted above (p. 252), two of these look to have been simultaneously priests of the Maritime Alps (*ILGN* 3; *AE*, 1924, 61; *CIL* 5, 7917).

REFERENCES

Journals are abbreviated as in l'Année philologique *with modifications usual in English. Multiple publications by the same author in the same year are identified by a word or phrase of the title.*

Agusta–Boullarot–Bousbaa (1993–95), Agusta-Boullarot S., Bousbaa M., "Inscriptions récemment découvertes à Cherchell (*Caesarea* de Maurétanie)", *BCTH*, B. 24 (1993–95) 101–28.

Alföldi Jr. (1943), Alföldi A. Jr., "Zur Entstehung der Colonia Claudia Savaria", *AErt* (1943) 80–6.

Alföldy (1965), Alföldy G., "Epigraphisches aus Nordwestpannoniens", *LF* 88 (1965) 264–71.

Alföldy (1968), Alföldy G., *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (Epig. Stud. 6), Düsseldorf, 1968.

Alföldy (1969), Alföldy G., *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden, 1969.

Alföldy (1973), Alföldy G., *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueologia 6), Madrid, 1973.

Alföldy (1979), Alföldy G., "Bildprogramme in den römischen Städten des Conventus Tarraconensis—Das Zeugnis der Statuenpostamente" in *Homenaje a García y Bellido IV: Rev. Univ. Complutense 18* (1979) 177–275.

Alföldy (1983), Alföldy G., "Nochmals Octavius Faustinianus", *ZPE* 51 (1983) 230–6.

Alföldy (1991), Alföldy G., "Tarraco", *Forum: Temes d'història i d'arqueologia tarragonines* 8, Tarragona, 1991.

Alföldy (1995), Alföldy G., "Der Status der Provinz Baetica um die Mitte des 3. Jahrunderts" in R. Frei-Stolba and M. A. Speidel (eds.), *Römische Inschriften - Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen* (Festschrift Hans Lieb), Basel 1995.

Alföldy (1997), Alföldy G., "Die Grossen Götter von Gorsium," *ZPE* (1997) 225–41.

Alföldy, *Provincia* (2000), Alföldy G., *Provincia Hispania superior* (Heidlberg. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse 19), Heidelberg, 2000.

Alföldy (2001), Alföldy G., "Tarraco, capital de la mayor provincia del

imperio romano" in *Tarraco. Puerta de Roma* (Exposición organizada por la fundación "la Caixa", Tarragona, 13 de septiembre de 2001 - 6 de enero de 2002), Taragona, 2001, 26–31.

Allmer–Dissard (1889–93), Allmer A. and Dissard P., *Inscriptions Antiques du Musée de Lyon*, Lyon, 1889–93.

Aparicio–Ventura (1996), Aparicio Sanchez L. and Ventura Villanueva A., "Flamen provincial documentado en Cordoba y nuevos datos sobre el foro de la Colonia Patricia," *AAC* 7 (1996) 251–64.

Aquilué *et al.* (1999), Aquilué i Abadias X., Dupré i Raventós X., Massó J., Ruiz de Arbulo J., *Tàrraco. Guies del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya*, Tarragona, 1999.

Ardevan (1992), Ardevan R., "Les flamines municipaux dans la Dacie Romaine" in M. Mayer and J. Gomez Pallares (eds.), *Religio Deorum* (Actas del Coloquio internacional de Epigrafia, Culto y Sociedad en Occidente), Sabadell, 1992, 45–53.

Ardevan (1993), Ardevan R., "Die Cominii von Sarmizegetusa - ein prosopographisches und chronologisches Problem" in L. Mrozewicz and K. Ilski (eds.), *Prosopographica*, Poznan, 1993, 227–36.

Ardevan (1998), Ardevan R., *Viaţa municipala în Dacia Romana*, Timişoara, 1998.

Aymard (1941), Aymard A. "Notes sur des inscriptions de Lugdunum Convenarum", *REA* 43 (1941) 216–39.

Aymard (1942–45), Aymard A., "Du nouveau sur un Toulousain et sur Toulouse à l'époque romaine", *Bull. soc. arch. du Midi de la France* 3e sér., 1 (1942–45) 513–28 (= *Études d'Histoire Ancienne*, Paris, 1967, 548–59).

Bassignano (1974), Bassignano M. S., *Il flaminato nelle province romane dell' Africa* (Università degli Studi di Padova Pubbl. dell' Ist. di Storia Antica 11), Rome, 1974.

Beard, Status (1980), Beard M., "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *JRS* 70 (1980) 12–27.

Beard–North–Price (1998), Beard M., North J., Price S., *Religions of Rome*, Cambridge, 1998, 1–2.

Bellen (1984), Bellen H., "Das Drususdenkmal apud Mogontiacum und die Galliarum *civitates*", *JRGZ* 31 (1984) 385–96.

Bérard (1992), Bérard F., "Le projet des inscriptions de Lyon" in F. Bérard and Y. Le Bohec (eds.), *Inscriptions Latines de Gaule Lyonnaise* (Collection du Centre d'Etudes Romaines et Gallo-Romaines, nouvelle série no. 10), Lyon, 1992, 7–20.

Beurlier (1891), Beurlier E., *Essai sur le culte impérial. Son histoire et son organization depuis Auguste jusqu'à Justinien*, Paris, 1891.
Bielman–Frei-Stolba (1994), Bielman A., Frei-Stolba R., "Les flaminiques du culte impérial: contribution au rôle de la femme sous l'Empire romain", *Etudes de Lettres* (1994) 113–26.
Boeswillwald–Cagnat–Ballu (1905), Boeswillwald E., Cagnat R., Ballu A., *Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'Empire Romaine*, Paris 1905.
Bousquet (1971), Bousquet J., "Inscriptions de Rennes", *Gallia* 29 (1971) 109–22.
Brent (1999), Brent A., *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order. Concepts and Images of Authority in Paganism and Early Christianity before the Age of Cyprian* (Suppl. Vigiliae Christianae 45), Leiden, 1999.
Brun–Gascou (1999), Brun J.-P., Gascou J. "Un grand-prêtre du culte impérial de la province de Narbonnaise", *ZPE* 125 (1999) 261–9.
Burnand (1975), Burnand Y., "Sénateurs et chevalier romains originaires de la cité de Nîmes sous le Haut-Empire," *MEFR* 87 (1975) 764–9.
Burnand (1982), Burnand Y., "Senatores Romani ex provinciis Galliarum orti", *Tituli* 5 (1982) 387–437.
Burnand (1996), Burnand Y., *Les Gallo-Romains*, Vendôme, 1996.

Camodeca (1979), Camodeca G., "La carriera del prefetto del pretorio Sex. Cornelius Repentinus in una nuova izcrizione puteolana", *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 41–76.
Camodeca (1981), Camodeca G., "La carriera del prefetto del pretorio Sex. Cornelius Repentinus in una nuova izcrizione puteolana", *ZPE* 43 (1981) 43–56.
Campanile (1994), Campanile M. D., *I Sacerdoti del Koinon d'Asia (I sec. A.C. - III sec. D.C.). Contributo allo studio della romanizzazione delle elite provinciali nell'Oriente greco* (Studi ellenistici 7), Pisa, 1994.
Castillo (1975), Castillo Garcia C., "Städte und Personen der Baetica", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin, 1975, 2, 3, 601–54.
Castillo (1998), Castillo C., "Los flamines provinciales de la Bética", *REA* 100 (1998) 437–60.
Chastagnol (1978), Chastagnol A., *L'Album municipal de Timgad* (*Antiquitas* 3, 22), Bonn, 1978.
Chastagnol (1980), Chastagnol A., "L'organisation du culte impérial dans la cité à la lumière des inscriptions de Rennes" in A.-M. Rouanet-Liesenfelt (ed.), *La civilisation des Riedones* (Archéologie en

Bretagne, suppl. 2), Brest, 1980, 187–99 (= *La Gaule romaine et le droit latin*, Lyon, 1995, 29–35).

Chastagnol (1995), Chastagnol A., "L'expression épigraphique du culte impérial dans les provinces gauloises", *REA* 97 (1995) 593–614.

Chastagnol (1996), Chastagnol A., "*Coloni et incolae*. Note sur les différenciations sociales à l'intérieure des colonies romaines de peuplement dans les provinces de l'Occident (1er siècle av. J.-C. - 1er siècle ap. J.-C.)" in A. Chastagnol, S. Demougin, C. Lepelley (eds.), *Splendidissima Civitas. Études d'histoire romaine en hommage à F. Jacques*, Paris 1996, 13–25.

Christol (1992), Christol M., "Evergétisme et évergètes à Nîmes à l'époque impériale (I): A propos d'un hommage public: l'argent et la famille" in *Les Inscriptions latines de Gaule Narbonnaise*; *Actes de la table ronde d'Alba (Ardèche) 2–3 juin 1989*, Nîmes, 1992, 49–63.

Christol (1993), Christol M., "Les colonies de Narbonnaise et l'histoire sociale de la province" in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte* (Kolloquium Köln 24–26, Nov. 1991), Cologne, 1993, 277–91.

Clauss (1999), Clauss M., *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1999.

Corbier (1985), Corbier M., "Fiscalité et dépenses locales", in P. Leveau (ed.), *L'Origine des richesses depensées dans la ville antique* (Actes du colloque Aix-en-Provence, 11–12 mai 1984), Aix-en-Provence, 1985, 219–32.

Curchin (1990), Curchin L. A., *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain*, Toronto, 1990.

Curchin (1996), Curchin L. A., "Cult and Celt: Indigenous Participation in Emperor Worship in Central Spain" in A. M. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity* (JRA suppl. 17), Ann Arbor, 1996, 143–52.

Daicoviciu, Dazien (1966), Daicoviciu C., " Zur inneren Geschichte Daziens" in T. Eckhardt, W. Leitsch, R. G. Plaschka (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas*, *Gedenkband fur H. F. Schmidt*, Graz and Köln, 1966, 3 Teil, 9–14.

Degrassi (1952), Degrassi A., *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano* (Sussidi Eruditi 3), Rome 1952.

Deininger (1964), Deininger J., "Zur Begründung des Provinzialkultes in der Baetica", *MDAI(M)* 5 (1964) 167–79.

Deininger (1965), Deininger J., *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*

von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Vestigia 6), Munich, 1965.

Demougin (1988), Demougin S., *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* (Coll. de l'école franç. de Rome 108), Rome, 1988.

Demougin (1995), Demougin S., "À propos des Médiomatriques", *CCG* 6 (1995) 183–94.

Drinkwater (1978), Drinkwater J. F., "The Rise and Fall of the Gallic Iulii: Aspects of the Development of the Aristocracy of the Three Gauls under the Early empire", *Latomus* 37 (1978) 817–50.

Drinkwater (1979), Drinkwater J. F., "A Note on Local Careers in the Three Gauls under the Early Empire", *Britannia* 10 (1979) 89–100.

Drinkwater (1983), Drinkwater J. F., *Roman Gaul. The Three Provinces, 58 B.C. - A.D. 260*, London, 1983.

Duncan-Jones (1968), Duncan-Jones R. P., "The Chronology of the Priesthood of Africa Proconsularis under the Principate," *EpigStud* 5 (1968) 151–8.

Dupré i Raventós (1990), Dupré i Raventós X., "Un gran complejo provincial de epoca Flavia en Tarragona: Aspectos cronologicos" in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker, *Stadtbild und Ideologie* (Bayer. Akad.d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse Abh. n. F. 103), Munich, 1990, 319–25.

Dupré i Raventós (1995), Dupré i Raventós X., "New evidence for the Study of the Urbanism of Tarraco," *PBA* 86 (1995) 355–69.

Eck (1991), Eck, W., "Consules Ordinarii und Consules Suffecti als eponyme Amtsträger", *Epigraphia: Actes du Colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi* (Coll. de l'École franç. de Rome 143), Rome 1991, 15–44.

Eck (1993), Eck, W., "Die religiösen und kultischen Aufgaben der römischen Statthalter in der hohen Kaiserzeit" in M. Mayer and J. Gomez Pallares (eds.), *Religio Deorum. Actas del Coloquio Internacional de Epigrafía. Culto y Sociedad en Occidente*, Sabadell, 1993, 151–61.

Edmondson (1997), Edmondson J., "Two Dedications to *Divus Augustus* and *Diva Augusta* from Augusta Emerita and the Early Development of the Imperial Cult in Lusitania re-examined", *MDAI(M)* 38 (1997) 89–105.

Étienne (1958), Étienne R., *Le Culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (BEFAR 191), Paris, 1958.

Étienne (1987), Étienne R., "À propos de quelques basiliques de Gaule et de la Péninsule ibérique" in *Atti del Convegno Studi Lunensi e prospettive sull'Occidente romano, Lerici, settembre 1985* (Quaderni 10–12), Lerici, 1987, 37–52.

Étienne (1990), Étienne R., "Le culte impérial, vecteur de la hiérarchisation urbaine" in *Les Villes de Lusitanie romaine* (Collection de la Maison des Pays ibériques, 42), Paris, 1990, 215 -31.

Étienne (1993), Étienne R., "Culte de la *civitas* - culte des *pagi* dans les Trois Gaules", in M. Mayer and J. Gomez Pallares (eds.), *Religio Deorum. Actas del Coloquio Internacional de Epigrafía. Culto y sociedad en Occidente*, Sabadell, 1993, 171–6.

Étienne (1999), Étienne R., "Un nouveau prêtre provincial du culte impérial de Bétique", *Pallas* 50 (1999) 141–52.

Étienne–Fabre–Lévêque (1976), Étienne R., Fabre G., Lévêque P. and M., *Fouilles de Conimbriga, Épigraphie et Sculpture*, Paris, 1976, 2.

Fernándes y Pérez (1856), Fernándes y Pérez G., *Historia de las Antigüedades de Mérida*, Mérida, 1856.

Fishwick (1978), Fishwick D., "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2, Berlin, 1978, 1201–53.

Fishwick, Fiction (1995), Fishwick D., "'Provincial *forum*' and 'municipal *forum*': Fiction or Fact?", *Homenaje a Sáenz de Buruaga*: *Anas* 7–8 (1994–95) (1998), 169–86.

Fishwick, Priesthood (1996), Fishwick D., "The Federal Priesthood of M. Bucc[again", *REA* 98 (1996) 413–19.

Fishwick, Calpurnius (1998), Fishwick D., "The Provincial Priesthood of L. Calpurnius Augustalis", *AntAfr* 34 (1998) 73–82.

Fishwick, Knight (1998), Fishwick D., "Our First High Priest: A Gallic Knight at Athens," *Epigraphica* 60 (1998) 83–112.

Fishwick, Bosa (1999), Fishwick D., "A Priestly Career at Bosa" in N. Blanc and A. Buisson (eds.), *Imago Antiquitatis*: *Religions et iconographie du monde romain* (Mélanges R. Turcan), Paris, 1999, 221–8.

Fishwick, Priesthoods (1999), Fishwick D., "Two Priesthoods of Lusitania", *Epigraphica* 61 (1999) 81–102.

Fishwick, Regulations (1999), Fishwick D. "Flavian Regulations at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls?", *ZPE* 124 (1999) 249–60.

Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999), Fishwick D., "The 'Temple of Augustus' at Tarraco", *Latomus* 58 (1999) 121–38.

Fishwick, Gorsium (2000), Fishwick D., "The Sacred Area at Gorsium (Pannonia Inferior)", *Phoenix* 54 (2000) 309–31.

Fishwick, Peculiaris (2000), Fishwick, D., "The Career of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris", *ZPE* 130 (2000) 257–60.

Fitz (1985), Fitz J., "Concilia provinciae in Pannonien" in E. Weber

and G. Dobesch (eds.), *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik* (Festschrift A. Betz), Vienna, 1985, 257–65.
Fitz (1993), Fitz J., *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit*, Budapest, 1993, 1–4.
Forner y Segarra (1893), Forner y Segarra A. F., *Antigüedades de Mérida*, Mérida, 1893.
Frei-Stolba (1988), Frei-Stolba R., "Q. Otacilius Pollinus: Inquisitor III Galliarum" in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds.), *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Festschrift K. Christ), Darmstadt, 1988, 186–201.
Frei-Stolba (1994), Frei-Stolba R., "Die Kaiserpriester am Altar von Lyon" in *Roman Religion in Gallia Belgica and the Germaniae: Bull. des Antiq. Luxembourg* 22 (1993), Luxembourg, 1994, 36–54.
Friesen (1993), Friesen S. J., *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (RGRW 116), Leiden, 1993.

García (1985), García Jiménez I., "L. Numisius Laetus *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris bis*", *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 1 (1985) 133–5.
García y Bellido (1971), García y Bellido A., "Inscripciones de Corduba", *Bol. Real Academia de la Historia* 168 (1971) 181–3.
Gascou (1979), Gascou J., "P. Iulius Liberalis, *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae*, et la date du statut colonial de Thysdrus," *AntAfr* 14 (1979) 189–96.
Gascou (1987), Gascou J., "Les *sacerdotes Cererum* de Carthage", *AntAfr* 23 (1987) 95–128.
Gayraud (1981), Gayraud M., *Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du IIIe Siècle* (*RAN*, Suppl. 8), Paris, 1981.
Gradenwitz (1904), Gradenwitz O., *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum*, Leipzig, 1904.
Graindor (1922), Graindor P., *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (Mém. de l'Acad. royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques 2, sér. 7), Brussels, 1922.
Graindor (1931), Graindor P., *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo, 1931).
Granino Cerere (1987), Granino Cerere M. G., "Base con iscrizione onoraria nel Museo Nazionale di Palestrina", *MGR* 11 (1987) 189–210.
Gschaid (1991), Gschaid M., *Studien zur Verehrung der römischen Gottheiten in den Gebieten der Sequaner und Ambarrer* (Diss. Regensburg), Regensburg, 1991.
Guichard (1989), Guichard P., "Sénat de Rome et concilium de Bétique. Les relations entre les deux assemblées de 92 à 99 ap. J.-C. à l'occa-

sion des procès de Massa, Gallus et Classicus", *MCV* 25 (1989) 31–54.
Gundel (1953), Gundel H. G., "Devotus numini maiestatique eius. Zur Devotionsformel in Weihinschriften der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Epigraphica* 15 (1953) 128–50.
Gysler–Bielman (1994), Gysler L.-A. and Bielman A., "Le flaminat municipal: prêtrise officielle du culte impérial à travers les témoignages épigraphiques de la province des Trois Gaules", *Études de Lettres* (1994) 93–111.

Hertz (1992), Hertz. P., "Asiarchen und Archiereiai", *Tyche* 7 (1992) 93–115.
Hertz (1997), Hertz P., "Herrscherverehrung und lokale Festkultur im Osten des römischen Reiches (Kaiser/Agone)" in H. Cancik and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion*, Tübingen, 1997, 239–64.
Hertz (2001), Hertz P., "Das römische Heer und der Kaiserkult in Germanien" in W. Spickermann *et al.* (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms*, Tübingen, 2001, 91–116.
Hirschfeld (1904), Hirschfeld O., "Le Conseil des Gaules", *Recueil de Mém. publié par la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1904, 211–216 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, 127–32).
Horváth (1927–29), Horváth T. A., "Ondódi ásatások. Ausgrabungen in Ondód", *Annales Sabarienses* 3 (1927–29) 97–108.

Illuminati (1977), Illuminati A., "Alcune considerazioni intorno all' *excusatio honoris flamoni* in base ad un teste epigrafico Africano", *RAL* 32 (1977) 263–71.

Jacques (1983), Jacques F., *Les curateurs des cités dans l'Occident romain de Trajan à Gallien*, Paris 1983.
Jiménez (1998), Jiménez Salvador J. L., "La multiplicación de plazas públicas en la ciudad hispanoromana", *Empúries* 51 (1998) 11–30.

Kapetanopoulos (1992–98), Kapetanopoulos E., "The Reform of the Athenian Constitution under Hadrian", *Horos* 10–12 (1992–98) 215–37.
Kasser (1950), Kasser A., "Contribution à l'étude des vestiges d'Eburodunum" in *Mélanges L. Bosset*, Lausanne, 1950.
Kornemann (1901), Kornemann E., "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Klio* 1 (1901) 51–146.

Kos (1992), Kos P., "The Provincia Moesia Superior in Viminacium", *ZPE* 91 (1992) 209–14.
Kretschmer–Locker (1965), Kretschmer P., Locker E., *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1965.

Labrousse (1968), Labrousse M., *Toulouse antique des Origines à l'Établissement des Wisigoths* (BEFAR fasc. 212), Paris, 1968.
Ladjimi Sebaï (1990), Ladjimi Sebaï L., "À propos du flaminat féminin dans les provinces Africaines", *MEFRA* 102 (1990) 651–86.
Larsen (1944), Larsen J. A. O., *CPh* 39 (1944) 197.
Larsen (1955), Larsen J. A. O., *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, Berkeley, 1955.
Latte (1967), Latte K., *Römische Religionsgeschichte*[2] (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 5, 4), Munich, 1967 [1974].
Le Roux (1994), Le Roux P., "L'Évolution du culte impérial dans les provinces occidentales d'Auguste à Domitien" in *Les Années Domitien*: *Pallas* (1994) 397–411.
Lehmann (1944), Lehmann A., *Le rôle de la femme dans l'histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1944.
Liebenam (1900), Liebenam W., *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig, 1900 [1967].
Liebeschuetz (1989), Liebeschuetz J. H. W. G., *CR* 39 (1989) 322.
Liertz (1998), Liertz U.-M., *Kult und Kaiser. Studien zu Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen Provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 20), Rome, 1998.
Liertz (2000), Liertz U.-M., "Zur Vorgeschichte organisierten Kaiserkultes im gallo-germanischen Raum", *Arctos* 34 (2000) 89–100.
Lomas (1987–88), Lomas Salmonte F. J., " De la condición social de los incolae con especial referencia a España", *Habis* 18–19 (1987–88) 383–95.

MacMullen–Lane (1992), MacMullen R., Lane E. N., *Paganism and Chritianity, 100–425 C.E. A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis, 1992.
Marquardt (1881), Marquardt J., *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1881 [1975].
Maurin (1978), Maurin L., *Saintes Antique des origines à la fin du VIe siècle après Jésus Christ*, Saintes, 1978.
Maurin (1986), Maurin L., "Gaulois et Lyonnais" in *Hommage à Robert Etienne*: *REA* 88 (1986) 109–24.
Mendes de Almeida–Bandeira (1969), Mendes de Almeida J., Bandeira

Ferreira F., " Varia Epigraphica", *RGuimarães* 79 (1969) 259.
Mócsy (1970), Mócsy A., *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest-Amsterdam, 1970.
Moreno de Vargas (1633), Moreno de Vargas B., *Historia de la ciudad de Mérida*, Mérida, 1633 [1974].
Mrozewicz (1982), Mrozewicz L., *Rozwój ustroju municypalnego a postepy romanizacji w Mezji Dolnej*, Poznań, 1982.

Nawotka (1987), Nawotka K., "Zgromadzenia prowincjonalne w rzymskich prowincjach naddunajskich", *Acta Univ. Wratislaviensis*: *Antiquitas* 13 (1987) 163–200.
Nicolet (1966), Nicolet C., *L'Ordre équestre a l'époque républicaine (312–43 av. J. C.)*, Paris, 1966.

Oliver, Gerousia (1941), Oliver J. H., *The Sacred Gerousia*; (Hesperia Suppl. 6), Baltimore, 1941.
Oliver (1942), Oliver J. H., "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 80.
d'Ors (1986), d'Ors Alvaro, *La ley flavia municipal*, Rome, 1986.

Pailler (1988), Pailler J.-M., "Domitien et la 'cité de Pallas'. Un tournant dans l'histoire de Toulouse antique", *Pallas* 35 (1988) 99–109.
Pailler (1989), Pailler J.-M., "Domitien, la 'Loi des Narbonnais' et le culte impérial dans les provinces sénatoriales d'Occident", *RAN* 22 (1989) 171–89.
Pallu de Lessert (1884), Pallu de Lessert C., "Les assemblées provinciales et le culte provinciale dans l'Afrique romaine" in *Études sur le droit public et l'organisation sociale de l'Afrique romain*, Paris, 1884, 5–90.
Pelletier (1984), Pelletier A., *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1984.
Pflaum (1948), Pflaum H.-G., Le Marbre de Thorigny, Paris 1948.
Pflaum (1968), Pflaum H.-G., "Les juges des cinq décuries originaires d'Afrique romaine", *AntAfr* 2 (1968), 153–95.
Pflaum, Flamines (1976), Pflaum H.-G., "Les flamines de l'Afrique romaine", *Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 152–63.
Pflaum, Reform (1976), Pflaum H.-G., "Zur Reform des Kaisers Gallienus", *Historia* 25 (1976) 109–17.
Pflaum (1978), Pflaum H.-G., *Les fastes de la province de Narbonnaise* (Gallia Suppl. 30), Paris, 1978.
Picard (1959), Picard G. Ch., " Postumus et Vetranion", *Atti III Congr. di Epig. Grec. e Lat., 4–8 Sett. Roma, 1957*, Rome, 1959, 263–70.

Piso, Epigraphica (XI) (1980), Piso. I, "Epigraphica (XI)", *Potaissa* 2 (1980) 123–31.
Piso (1981), Piso I., " Epigraphica (XIII). Inscriptions de Apulum", *ActaMN* 18 (1981) 443–9.
Piso (1982), Piso I, "Maximinus Thrax und die Provinz Dazien", *ZPE* 49 (1982) 225–38.
Piso (1993), Piso I, *Fasti Provinciae Daciae I. Die senatorischen Amtsträger*, Bonn, 1993.
Price (1984), Price S. R. F., *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1984.

Richard (1991), Richard F., "Les 'soixante peuples' du sanctuaire du Confluent a l'époque augustéenne" in *Mélanges A. Audin*, Lyon, 1991, 205–11.
Richard (1992), Richard F., "Une nouvelle inscription lyonnaise d'un *Sacerdos* Sénon des Trois Gaules: *Sextus Iulius Thermianus*", *CRAI* (1992) 489–509.
Richard (1999), Richard F., "Un secteur ressuscité du sanctuaire fédéral des Trois Gaules", *Imago Antiquitatis* (Mélanges R. Turcan), Paris, 1999, 383–91.
Rives (1994), Rives J. B., "The Priesthood of Apuleius", *AJPhil* 115 (1994) 273–90.
Rives (1995), Rives J. B., *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*, Oxford, 1995.
Robert (1944), Robert, J. and L., *REG* 57 (1944) 202–3.
Rodríguez, *Incolae* (1978), Rodríguez Neila J. F., " La situación socio-política de los incolae en el mundo romano", *MHA* 2 (1978) 147–69.
Rodríguez, Procesos (1978), Rodríguez Neila J. F., "Sobre los procesos de la Bética contra los gobernadores romanos" in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía (Córdoba 1976*), Córdoba 1978, 1, 231–8.
Rodríguez (1981), Rodríguez Neila J. F. , *Sociedad y administración local en la Bética romana*, Córdoba, 1981.
Ruiz de Arbulo (1990), Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona J., "El foro de Tarraco", *Cypsela* 8 (1990) 119–38.
Ruiz de Arbulo (1993), Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona J., "Edificios públicos, poder imperial y evolución de las élites urbanas en Tarraco (s. II-IV d. C.)" in *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania. Siglos II-III d. C. , coloquio Madrid 1990* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 40), Madrid, 1993, 93–113.
Ruiz de Arbulo (1998), Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona J., "*Tarraco*. Escenografía

del poder, administración y justicia en una capital provincial romana (s. IIaC - IIdC)", *Empúries* 51 (1998) 31–61.

Saquete (1997), Saquete Chamizo J. C., *Las elites sociales de Augusta Emerita*, Mérida, 1997.

Scheid (1995), Scheid J., "Les espaces cultuels et leur interprétation", *Klio* 77 (1995) 420–32.

Seston (1958), Seston W., *Communication dactylographiée de l'Inst. de droit romain de l'Univ. de Paris*, 14 mars, 1958.

Seston (1962), Seston W., "Les donateurs de l'amphithéâtre de Trois Gaules" in *Hommages Grenier* (Coll. Latomus 58), Brussells, 1962, 1407–17.

Sotgiu (1988), Sotgiu G., "L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il CIL X e l'EE VIII", *ANRW* 2, 11, 1, Berlin, 1988, 552–739.

Spickermann (1994), Spickermann W., "Priesterinnen im römischen Gallien, Germanien und den Alpenprovinzen (1.-3. Jh.)", *Historia* 43 (1994) 189–240.

Stylow (1987), Stylow A. U., "Beiträge zur lateinischen Epigraphik im Norden der Provinz Córdoba", *MDAI(M)* 28 (1987) 57–126.

Stylow (1989), Stylow A. U., "Änderungen in Kaiserinschriften. Zwei Beispiele aus Hispanien", *Chiron* 19 (1989) 387–405.

Stylow (1990), Stylow A. U., "Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana" in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker, *Stadtbild und Ideologie* (Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse Abh. n. F. 103), Munich, 1990, 259–82.

Thomasson (1960), Thomasson B. E., *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen NordAfrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus* (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 9, 2), Lund, 1960, 2.

Thomasson (1984), Thomasson B. E., *Laterculi Praesidum*, Göteborg-Arlöv, 1984, 1–2.

Thomasson (1990), Thomasson B. E., *Laterculi Praesidum*, Göteborg-Arlöv, 1990, 3.

Thomasson (1996), Thomasson B. E., *Fasti Africani* (Skrifter utgivna av svenska institutet i Rom 4, 53), Stockholm, 1996.

Tranoy-Ayala (1994), Tranoy L., Ayala G., "Les pentes de la Croix-Rousse à Lyon dans l'Antiquité. État des connaissances", *Gallia* 51 (1994) 171–89.

Trillmich (1989–90), Trillmich W., "Un *sacrarium* del culto imperial en el teatro de Mérida", *Anas* 2/3 (1989/90) 87–101.

Trillmich, Fiktion (1993), Trillmich W., "'Foro provincial' und 'Foro municipal' in den Hauptstädten der drei hispanischen Provinzen: eine Fiktion" in *Ciudad y comunidad cívica en Hispania. siglos II-III d. C., coloquio Madrid 1990* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 40), Madrid, 1993, 115–24.

Van Andringa (2000), Van Andringa W., "Le vase de Sains-du-Nord et le culte de l'*imago* dans les sanctuaires gallo-romains" in W. Van Andringa (ed.), *Archéologie des sanctuaires en Gaule romaine* (Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne), Saint-Étienne, 2000, 27–44.

Velazquez (1988), Velazquez Jimenez A., "Una Helvia, *flaminica* en Augusta Emerita", *Anas* 1 (1988) 125–32.

Vidman (1982), Vidman L., *Fasti Ostienses*[2], Prague, 1982.

Villaret (1999), Villaret A., "L'association de l'empereur et des dieux en Aquitania. Son rôle dans la société et les mentalités", *Aquitania* 16 (1999) 127–51.

Visky (1958), Visky K., "Diritto romano nelle iscrizioni di Savaria", *Iura-Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Romano e Antico* 9 (1958) 81–100.

Walsh (1994), Walsh P. G., *Apuleius. The Golden Ass*, Oxford, 1994.

Wierschowski (1986) Wierschowski L., "AE 1980, 615 und das erste Auftreten der Formel 'omnibus honoribus in colonia sua functus' in den westlichen Provinzen", *ZPE* 64 (1986) 287–94.

Wilhelm (1914), Wilhelm A., "Urkunden aus Messene", *JOAI* 17 (1914) 1–120.

Wilkes (1969), Wilkes J. J., *Dalmatia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1969.

Williamson (1987), Williamson C. H., "A Roman Law from Narbonne", *Athenaeum* 65 (1987) 173–89.

Wissowa (1915), Wissowa G., "Die römischen Staatspriestertümer altlatinischer Gemeindekulte," *Hermes* 50 (1915) 1–33.

Wolff (1976), Wolff H., "Kriterien für latinische und römische Städte in Gallien und Germanien und die 'Verfassung' der gallischen Stammesgemeinden", *BJ* 176 (1976) 45–121.

Wolf (1977), Wolff H., "Civitas und Colonia Treverorum", *Historia* 26 (1977) 204–42.

Wuilleumier (1953), Wuilleumier P., *Lyon, Métropole des Gaules*, Paris 1953.

Zucca (1994), Zucca R., "Il decoro urbano delle *civitates Sardiniae et Corsicae*: il contributo delle fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche" in A. Mastino

and P. Ruggeri (eds.), *L'Africa romana. 10*; (Atti del X convegno di studio Oristano, 11–13 dicembre 1992), Sassari, 1994, 2, 857–935.

119. Pietersma, A. *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians.* P. Chester Beatty XVI (with New Editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek inv. 29456 + 29828 verso and British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v f. 87). Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary. With full facsimile of all three texts. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09938 7
120. Blok, J.H. *The Early Amazons.* Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10077 6
121. Meyboom, P.G.P. *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina.* Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10137 3
122. McKay, H.A. *Sabbath and Synagogue.* The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10060 1
123. Thom, J.C. *The Pythagorean Golden Verses.* With Introduction and Commentary. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10105 5
124. Takács, S.A. *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10121 7
125. Fauth, W. *Helios Megistos.* Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10194 2
126. Rutgers, L.V. *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome.* Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10269 8
127. Van Straten, F.T. *Hierà kalá.* Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10292 2
128. Dijkstra, K. *Life and Loyalty.* A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period Based on Epigraphical Evidence. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09996 4
129. Meyer, M. & P. Mirecki (eds.) *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10406 2
130. Smith, M. & S.J.D. Cohen (eds.) *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh.* 2 volumes. ISBN 90 04 10372 4 (set)
    Vol. 1: *Studies in Historical Method, Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10477 1
    Vol. 2: *Studies in New Testament, Early Christianity, and Magic.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10479 8
131. Lane, E.N. (ed.) *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults.* Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10196 9
132. Lukian von Samosata *Alexandros oder der Lügenprophet.* Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt von U. Victor. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10792 4

133. De Jong, A. *Traditions of the Magi.* Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10844 0
134. Frankfurter, D. *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11127 1
135. Ustinova, Y. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom.* Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11231 6
136 Healey, John F. *The Religion of the Nabataeans.* A Conspectus. 2001. ISBN 90 04 10754 1
137. Drijvers, J.W. & J.W. Watt *Portraits of Spiritual Authority.* Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11459 9
138. Dirven, L. *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos.* A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11589 7
139. Rothaus, R.M. *Corinth: The First City of Greece.* An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion. 2000. ISBN 90 04 10922 6
140. Bricault, L. (éd.) *De Memphis à Rome.* Actes du Ier Colloque international sur les études isiaques, Poitiers – Futuroscope, 8-10 avril 1999. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11736 9
141. Mirecki, P., & M. Meyer (eds.) *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World.* 2001. ISBN 90 04 11676 1
142. Horstmanshoff, H.F.J., H.W. Singor, F.T. van Straten, & J.H.M. Strubbe (eds.) *Kykeon.* Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel. 2002. ISBN 90 04 11983 3
143. Morand, A.-F. *Etudes sur les* Hymnes Orphiques. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12030 0
144. Versluys, M.J. *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt.* 2002. ISBN 90 04 12440 3
145. Fishwick, D. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, Volume III.1.* Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12536 1
146. Fishwick, D. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, Volume III.2.* Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12539 6
147. Fishwick, D. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, Volume III.3.* Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. (in preparation)
148. Fishwick, D. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West, Volume III.4.* Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. (in preparation)
149. Lancellotti, M.G. *Attis* between Myth and History: King, Priest and God. 2002. ISBN 90 0412851 4